

THE
OLD FOX unkennelled:

O R,
Rob-n drove from his Cover.

IN A
LETTER
TO A

MEMBER of this Parliament,
FROM A
True Lover of the Liberties of the People.



A

LETTER

TO A MEMBER
OF THIS
New PARLIAMENT,
From a true Lover of the Liberties
of the People.

B E I N G

An ANSWER to a LETTER wrote to a Member of
the last Parliament by his H——r, in which the Privi-
lege of instructing our Representatives was ridiculed ; the
Reasons why a Place-Bill should not pass into a Law
were defended, and the Conduct of the present War
with Spain was vindicated :

Together with

Some Remarks upon the Conduct of some Persons in Bri-
tain, before and since the late Emperor of Germany's
Death.

*Even in those troubled Times, when dreadful Blake
Aw'd angry Nations with the British Name ;
Let every humbl'd State, let Europe say,
Sustain'd and balanc'd by my Naval Arm,
Ah ! what must these immortal Spirits think
Of your poor Shifts ?*

THOMSON'S BRITANNIA

L O N D O N,
Printed in the Year MDCCXLII.
(Price One Shilling.)



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A

LETTER

TO A

Member of Parliament, &c.

SIR,



T the Beginning of the last Session of the last Parliament, there was a Pamphlet published, intituled *A Letter to a Member of Parliament*, containing the Writer's Observations upon the Privilege of the People to instruct their Representatives, his Reasons why the Bill limiting such Numbers of *Place-men* to sit in the House of Commons, should not pass into a Law; and a Vindication of the Measures that have been taken in conducting the present War with *Spain*. And now, in the first Session of this new Parliament, I take this Opportunity to have the Honour of addressing you, to whom I freely gave my Vote at the last Election, for a Member of Parliament, to represent the County I reside in. It is true, the Suffrages of the Majority of legal Voters intitle you to a Seat in the House of Commons; but your strenuous Endeavours for the Good of your Country in the last Parliament, merited an uncommon Attention, and was the great Inducement, which influenced

fluenced your Electors to make Choice of you to represent them in this also, whereby you may have new Opportunities to vindicate the Honour of *Britain*, to defend its Liberties, and protect our happy Constitution, from the Attacks of those who have too long presumed to invade them.

These are the sincere Wishes of your Friends here ; and that I, in particular, take the Liberty to address you with some Warmth on this Subject, you will generously forgive a friendly Concern for my Country, which proceeds not from Passion, private Resentment, or any particular View, but from these melancholly Reflections the present Situation of our Affairs at home and abroad afford me, the one almost ruined, the other in as despised a Condition.

It is not the Vanity to be an Author that prompts me, nor Malice against any particular Person who differs from my Opinion, that induces me to write ; for it is impossible we can all think uniformly ; but if Interest and private View become the State Maxims of those who govern us, and from whom they receive such Sanction as to make them the Rules of Procedure in Parliament, and the Method by which they conduct themselves and rule the Nation, and which may tend to wound any Part of our Constitution, every Person is then called upon to speak and write, to convince our Representatives to guard against what in Time may entirely abolish our excellent Rules of Government.

And I presume, by addressing myself to you, I have many more Advantages than if I had appealed to the Publick ; for, tho' this is the common Method, yet I could expect no Redress of my Complaints, but what proceeds from Opinions without Doors ; but when I address my Representative in Parliament, in whom I and his Electors have reposed such Confidence as to constitute him one of our Legislators, I must expect all legal Relief from what I suffer ; I must lay before him what I, as Part of the Nation, and particularly as his Elector, claim ; I must instruct my Representative, or, how can he know my Sentiments, and the Injuries I suffer, of which he is to endeavour a Redress ?

But altho', Sir, certain great Authors imagine their Skill in parliamentary Affairs so dexterous, their Sense of the

the Good of their Constituents so excellent, as to need no Instructions, and who have, by two Letters to a Member of the last Parliament, endeavoured to prove th^e Privilege of instructing our Representatives unnecessary and quite absurd; yet I am so far convinced of the Necessity of instructing our Members, as Occurrences happen in Parliament, that I find it incumbent upon me to refute these Maxims of certain hon---ble G—— men, who, if they were able to convince us, that what they write was conform to the Law and Constitution of our Country, and thereby bring the Privilege of instructing into Desuetude ; or, had they the Power to enact this Right to be illegal, and clinch it with a Penalty, might procure the only Means to screen themselves from all future Enquiries, however just, of their unaccountable Adm-----n.

Altho' the Gentlemen who are elected to represent us in Parliament are sensible of the Grievances we suffer, and such of them who are free and independent of the Favours of the M——r, are determined to oppose all Schemes which may tend to infringe the Liberties of the People; yet the Right of the Constituents to instruct their Representatives cannot thereby be impaired; for the one is the Design, and, when executed, the Act of the Member, whereas the other is the conjunct Voice and Sentiments of the Constituents, authorising the Act of the Representative. It is certain, Sir, that, conform to the true Principles of Liberty, the Community retains a supreme Power of saving themselves from the Designs and Attempts of any Body, even of their Legislators, whenever they shall be so foolish, or so wicked, as carry on Designs against the Liberties and Properties of the Subject; for the Legislative acts against the Trust reposed in them, whenever they endeavour to invade the Property of the Subject, and to make themselves, or any Part of the Community or Society, Masters and arbitrary Disposers of the Liberties and Fortunes of the People. It is a certain Maxim in Politicks, That Society is greater than the representing Legislature. To the Society belong all the Cases *extra Regimen*, to the legislative Representatives all *intra Regimen*, who enact Laws for our better Government, conform to our Constitution; but if any Thing so extravagant

travagant could be imagined, that they, for Instance, should attempt to sell us under a foreign Dominion, (as is said of King John) would not the Society without Doors deny their Jurisdiction, and declare such an Act void and null, as being contrary to the very Essence and Meaning of our Government? And the same Reasoning must be good to shew us that the Society of the People are unquestionably intitled to instruct their Members; for, if they can deny their Jurisdiction in what is unconstitutional, they can instruct them when they apprehend the Constitution to be in Danger. These were the Principles which introduced the Revolution, and he who endeavours to deprecate or erase them, is an Enemy to our Constitution, and saps the Foundation of our present Establishment.

I do not affirm this Privilege of instructing our Members should be so literally understood, as that nothing can be legally enacted in Parliament, but what the People must first have instructed. There are no Rules without Exceptions, as in this Case there is no reasoning from Generals to Particulars; but now, that septennial Parliaments seem to be so well established, as no apparent Prospect is probable of repealing the Law on that Head, there is certainly the greater Necessity of instructing.

When Parliaments subsisted for one Year, the Members were either annually instructed, or might be so, by being annually amongst their Electors; but in the Case of septennial Parliaments, should this Position of not instructing obtain, those who have the Tuition of our Liberties might dispose of them at Pleasure for that Period; and whatever the Community suffered, either by rescinding old Acts, or enacting of new, it would not be so easy to regain as it is to rescind, and Liberty might be undone, whilst the Powers of the Member remained uncontroled.

What Changes and Vicissitudes in the political Government of all Nations, has not Time produced? What unlook'd for Accidents have not happened in the Space of seven Years? And what have been but the humble Thoughts of a Candidate, have proved the determined self Views of a Representative. Who, in anno 1727, imagined the Excise Scheme, would have been approved of in Parliament in

anno 1733? Or, who, in *anno 1734*, once thought the giving up of our Trade in the *West Indies*, by our late famous Convention with *Spain*, would have been the Result of a *British Parliament* in *anno 1738-9*? If any of these Cases had happened when Parliaments were annual, such Representatives, who by their Votes had approven of these Motions within Doors, had no Reason, from the almost universal Sentiments of the Nation without Doors, to expect Favour from their Electors, at their Return from Parliament to solicite their Re-election: And such is the Connection of the universal Good of the People, with the Sentiments, or what, in all Cases of Independency, will be the Sentiments and Actions of our Representatives, that the one is inseparable from the other: When those meet, the Liberties of the People are safe, but if they differ in Points essential to the maintaining our Constitution to be what originally it was, and which all agree to be excellent, then certain Destruction to these Liberties must be the Consequence. But, to preserve and protect them, the People have a good Right to instruct their Representatives.

What are the Reasons, Sir, of summoning Parliaments, but that the People by their Representatives may enact such Laws as are salutary for their collective Body? For such is the *British Constitution*, that the Influence of the People constituting their Members, must prevail over the Designs of a Minister who would attempt the prevailing of the executive Power over the Legislative, or endeavour to blend both into the Prerogative of the Crown. A necessary Bulwark this! and our great Defence against arbitrary Power, where the Will of the Prince must become Law to the suffering Subject; and to withstand this dangerous Principle, is to maintain true *British Liberty*.

When our Representatives shall neglect the united Advice, the joint Sentiments of their Constituents, transmitted to them as their Instructions, and prefer their private Interest to the publick Trust, it is then a proper Season, at a new Election, to shift Hands, and remedy the Misfortune, by making Choice of such Persons as will view the Interest of the People in the same Light they do their own:

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So every honest *Briton* ought to do: And indeed this is the true Method by which we can be well represented.

As in this Letter, Sir, I shall have frequent Occasion to make Use of the Word *Representative*, I shall define this Term according to my Apprehensions of its Meaning.

A *Representative* in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, is one, who, in virtue of the Constitution, by the Majority of legal Votes of his Constituents, is chosen to be the Guardian and Protector of the Liberties of the People, and who, by the Nature of his Office, is bound to receive Instructions from his Constituents, as Occurrences happen in Parliament, according to which he is to demean himself for the general Good of the whole Body politick, agreeable to the Laws and Practice of his Country. And these, I think, are the Powers with which every Member of the House of Commons is vested.

That our Members are not the same in their Office with the *Dutch* Deputies, I agree; The Election of the first being the Right of the People of *Britain*, the Choice of the latter being the Jurisdiction of the Magistrates in *Holland*. There the People have no Share in the Government, they being wholly excluded from all Exercise in the Legislature, by an Edict made 150 Years ago, and they have had no Share in the executive Part of their Laws since, except when *De Wit* was made a Sacrifice by a justly enraged Populace, for presuming to betray his Country to the arbitrary Power of *France*. And it is ridiculous to affirm the *Dutch* Deputies to be the mere Creatures of the People, since no Author can be quoted to shew me any Instance where a Deputy of the united Provinces was chosen by a Pole of the People. This, as has been said, is a *jus quæsumum* of their Magistrates. So says Sir *William Temple*; and our Ambassadors who succeeded to that great Man have been egregiously ignorant of the *Dutch* Constitution, to advance such a Fact, that the *Dutch* Deputies were the mere Creatures of the People.

I now proceed to examine the Author's Positions, laid down in the Letter I formerly mentioned, against instructing: And by observing, if his Arguments are strong and convincing, must yield the Dispute, or maintain what

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I take to be an excellent Privilege, and, without which, I think our Constitution in great Danger of being overthrown.

Our Author says, *He is at a Loss to comprehend how they (the People) should instruct their Representatives in Matters which they cannot legally know any Thing of.* I answer, That when a Representative keeps his Constituents in Ignorance of Parliamentary Affairs, when such are their nearest Concerns, the Nation thinks this a most illegal Practice. Ignorance in religious Matters is a favourite Maxim of the Romish Clergy, which, tho' condemned by all good Protestants, is now adopted, as a wise Scheme, by our modern Politicians; for the People's Ignorance, say they, makes Party, Faction, Clamour, and all Opposition cease: But the same Reason that condemns it in Religion, must also defeat it in Matters which concern our Liberty and Property, secured by the Reformation, and confirmed to us by the Revolution: For Instance, when the late excellent *Excise Scheme* was proposed, by our being kept in Ignorance of its Nature, the Nation generally believed there was no great Harm in it; but, upon the *Projectors* being solicited, that the Bill itself might be printed, and that, as all *Excise Laws* are hard upon the Subject, who directly pay the Duty, its Force and Effects might, upon Reviews and Reasonings, be fairly tried, so soon as the Bill appeared, the Project was universally damned, and its Authors were obliged to desist from pushing for its becoming a Law.

But our Author's Want of Comprehension may easily be supplied, notwithstanding of our being kept in this legal Ignorance, as he is pleased to word it; for, since the People cannot instruct their Representatives in Matters they do not know, they are firmly resolved to instruct them in all Matters they do know. They know their Liberties are in Danger; they know also, a Place Bill must be obtained and pass into a Law, for Security of these Liberties; therefore, they instruct their Representatives to pass this Place-Bill.

The Author is pleased to say, *This unconstitutional Practice of instructing, seems a mere Juggle to him.*

I cannot but observe, that juggling in publick Affairs is an ugly Method of acting, and he who suspects Juggling most, is the first Man I would certainly accuse. Juggling in those Matters is a latent Crime against a Constitution, as Theft is a latent taking away a private Property, and I would as soon believe a Juggler's Sincerity, as I would give Credit to a common Thief's Innocence. But let us, if possible, avoid Scandal, and inform our Author, that before the Constitution of Parliaments was altered from being annual, the People generally instructed their Members at their Election; and it was often known in those Days, for what Purposes Parliaments were called; and when Affairs were brought before them, which were not foreseen or expected, the Members have desired Time to consult their Constituents, and receive their Instructions how to behave in such an Emergence.

A notable Instance of this Resolution, as well as of the Antiquity of the Privilege of instructing, we find in the Reign of Edward the III. When his Majesty demanded a new Subsidy for the Payment of his Debts he had contracted in France, in securing former and acquiring new Conquests, the Commons answered, They must first have Conference with their Constituents, (these are the Words of Lord Coke, 4 Lib. Inst. 34 Page) And altho', in a second Letter I also before mentioned, the Author asserts this to contradict the Principle of instructing; yet, from the very Word *Conference*, it is certain those Members went to the several Counties and Boroughs to lay this Emergent before their Constituents, wisely apprehending they were not the sole Disposers of the People's Money, but wanted the Instructions of their Constituents, (or why this shy Doubt of their Powers) as to the proper Ways and Means of raising this new Subsidy, to be of the greatest Use to his Majesty, and the least Burden to the Subject.

In King Charles the II's Reign, many Counties, Cities, and Corporations, not only returned their respective Members Thanks for their past Services in prosecuting the Authors of the Popish Plot, and for the Progress they had made in the Exclusion-Bill; but also instructed and exhorted them to vindicate and maintain the Liberties of their Constituents,

stituents, and in particular, that no Money-Bill should pass until those Grievances of which they complained were redrest.

In his late Majesty's Reign, many Counties and Boroughs sent particular Instructions to their Members, to concur in a Prosecution against the Ministers of the four last Years of the late Queen Anne's Reign, for their Management of publick Affairs during that Time.

But some of our present Representatives, who were the most forward for Impeachments, the most ready to obey Instructions at that Period, have now politically changed their Note, and what then served them for *Paper War* against the Administration, when they could not get into the sole Management of the State, must now become the very *Maxims* by which, in their sublime Station, they shine the Oracles of the Nation, and particularly insist these Rules of Government may become *State Maxims*, on Purpose to screen their destructive private Purposes from the notable Enquiry of popular Instructions; and the late Deliverance from the Effects of the *Excise Scheme*, must also be so recent in the Memory of every true and honest Briton, that the Petitions and Remonstrances to Parliament, and the popular Instructions given to the Members, against the passing of that Bill into a Law, need no Record, I am sure, for an Age yet to come, to prove that the People legally and boldly asserted this Privilege.

Foreign History furnishes us also with many Instances, wherein the People of almost all the free Nations of Europe, so long as they were free, maintained this Privilege. Before Spain felt the Rage of arbitrary Power, or groaned under the Load of an unlimited Monarchy, the *Cortez* of that Kingdom was a free Assembly of their States; for, in the Beginning of the Reign of Charles the V. the *Procuradores* of the several Parts of *Castile*, in the *Cortez* held at *Madrid*, excused themselves from giving the Supplies that Prince demanded, because they had received no Orders in particular from the Towns which sent them; and afterwards receiving express Orders not to comply, they gave his Majesty a flat Denial: The like was frequently done during that Reign, and also in the Reign of Philip the II.

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his Son ; and generally the *Procuradores* never granted any Demand of Importance to either of these Monarchs, without particular Instructions from their Constituents.

Such was also the Practice in *France*, as long as there were any General Assemblies of their Estates ; but when these came to be abolished by the Cardinals *Richelieu*, and *Mazarine*, and other Ministers of State, Liberty sunk as Tyranny prevailed.

Our Author proceeds now to another Inconvenience that may happen from the Practice of instructing our Representatives, and says, *That the Member first transmits his Notifications to his Creatures ; they, under the Name of his Constituents, instruct him, as he first instructed them.* Alas, Sir, is there any Harm, if it so shall happen, that a Representative and his Constituents shall so far agree, as that, what he sends to them as his Opinion, shall return again to him as their Instructions. I hope it will not be said this Method should invalidate these joint Opinions. One may offer his Opinion to a Person from whom he desires an Advice, and if both agree, so much the better ; the Affair has the Prospect of an happy Issue. Is there any Thing in all this anticonstitutional ?

Our Author again proceeds thus : *If the Instructions given to our Representatives are binding, how are they our Representatives, since, were we ourselves present, we should be free Agents ?*

I shall have so much Charity for the Authors of this Argument, to think, they do not imagine, that, supposing the People of *Britain* were present, and thereby became free Agents, they would surrender their Freedom, and Liberties as a Compliment to a great Man ; but, whatever may be the Case as to the Constituent's free Will, there is a great Difference betwixt one who acts for himself and him who acts for another : The last is confined to his Orders and Instructions from his Principal, but the first may do what he pleases. When a Peer, for Example, receives a Proxy from another, he is so far his Representative ; but it hath often happened, that a Peer has voted one Way, and given his Proxy the other, and it would have been a dishonourable Breach of Trust in him to have acted otherwise,

ways, since he knew the Opinion of his Friend to be different from his own.

In fine, one must have Suspicions against those Persons who are the Advocates against the Liberty of the People to instruct their Members, and, at the same Time, compose and make a Part of the Legislative of this Nation, which, in no Instance that can be given, has parted with or given up that Right. It must then be rationally presumed, that we still retain it ; and I shall hope true *Britons* will, amongst others, assert this Privilege, since, by Experience, it has been found, we are a Nation too tenacious of our Liberties to be complimented out of them, and (as to their Cost they have found who have attempted it) of too much Courage violently to be compelled to give them up.

Thus I have endeavoured, Sir, to solve this *Letter-Writer's* Difficulties in the Business of instructing of our Representatives, and I hope, what seemed anticonstitutional and insuperable to him, will, to you and our Members, appear legal and demonstrably plain, both from our own and foreign History.

The next Subject of this Letter contains the Author's Reasons, why a Bill for limiting the present great Number of Placemen to sit in the House of Commons, should not pass into a Law : The Force of which I should have examined in Course, had not some further Arguments in Defence of instructing our Members occurred to me, from the Author's Preface to this Place-Bill Business.

He says, *It is impossible for a Man who makes any Pretence to Virtue, Religion or Honesty, not to have a deep Concern for the Interest of his Country ; and it is equally impossible for him to have this Concern, and yet continue silent, where he has a Right and a Power of delivering his Sentiments, and the Interest of his Country is visibly at Stake : A warm Sense of the former, and a sincere Belief of the latter, induced him to set Pen to Paper.* In all this I agree with him ; and, as his Inducements to become an Author were so just, I hope he will entertain the same charitable Thoughts of my Pen, as he asserts of his own. He proceeds thus, *I think the Constitution at home, the Glory, the Trade of the Nation abroad, are at Present in some Danger ; wherefore I have the same Right to address you my Representative, that a Member*

Member of an Insurance-Office has to call to a Fire-man, when he has Reason to imagine his House is in Danger of being burnt.

Sir, I think this Position so strong, that I apprehend there is no contradicting it, and must be of Opinion our Author has at length entirely yielded me all his Questions and Doubts of this instructing Privilege, notwithstanding of the great Labour he has bestowed in ridiculing and proving it absurd: But I shall appeal to himself, by asking him a Question or two, and then the Publick may easily judge what for an Author we have. Hon---ble Sir, when in your Letter you compare an almost undone Constitution to a House in Danger of being burnt, and your Representatives to Fire-men, whose Duty it is to save this constitutional House, and who are vested with proper Powers to do so, will you, I say, do no more than tamely and calmly, in such a Disaster, desire them, *if they please*, to save you? Or will you not rather instruct them, and call upon them to give their Help in such an Exegence, and that under the highest Penalty of forfeiting yours and their Country's Esteem ever afterwards? Are such melancholy and affecting Occasions Times to trifle, *and modestly lay before these Fire-men-Representatives, the Sentiments of a private Freeholder, with which they are no further to concur, than as what seems reasonable to this unhappy Sufferer, shall also appear in the same Light to them?* Will such Times be proper Seasons to impugn this Privilege of instructing? As there is a Necessity to save every Man's House from being burnt, is there not the same, and perhaps a greater Necessity, to save the Constitution of the Nation from being undone? If you have a Right, and in virtue thereof you call a Fire-man, who has it in his Power to save your House, and he extinguishes the Fire, whereby you are safe, have not you done your Duty? Will any Person think you have acted irrationally? And, by the same Parity of fair Reasoning, does not the Comparison hold, and the Privilege of the Constituent to instruct his Representative to preserve the Constitution (which you say is in Danger) and this Representative has it in his Power to save this Constitution from Ruin, does not this become a natural, a constitutional, a rational Practice? Is it possible there can be any *anticonstitu-*

stitutional Juggling here? Alas! Sir, that these were but Flights of Fancy, mere Figures of Rhetorick, the distant Fears of a discontented Opposition, and not the certain Accidents of imminent Danger!

It is true indeed, there have been Instances where Firemen would not save a House, and barbarous Land-men would not save a wrecking Ship, in hopes to share the Plunder of the unhappy Sufferers, who, in these horrid Calamities, are not in any Condition to save themselves. But, GOD forbid these Comparisons shoud hold, or such Impiety be ever laid to the Charge of a British Parliament.

Our Author proceeds thus: *I am, says he, apprehensive there are some Men amongst us, who, under the Pretence of promoting this Place-Bill, aim at subverting the Constitution.* If this is true, it is a most terrible Crime; but I doubt much that this is the Fact, and I am afraid his wise Apprehensions are much out of their natural Station.

If our Author is apprehensive, that, by this Place-Bill, the Constitution of some Individuals may suffer in their Families or Estates, he may not be altogether mistaken: Such a Project, I think, might now be attended with some Probability of Success; but if he means the ancient and legal Constitution of the Government of the Nation, it is demonstrable, that this Bill was absolutely calculated, and has a direct Tendency, to corroborate our Constitution, by purging all future Parliaments from mean and improper Members, according to the *Whig Scheme* in former Times; for, it is certain, our Constitution can never be subject to any greater Danger than the Influence which a M——r may gain upon the Representatives of the People. I have said before, they cannot subdue us by Force; it has been often attempted, and as often failed: But, should a Majority of the House of Commons be corrupted, would not that be as fatal? Should the Artillery of the People be turned upon themselves from their own Bulwarks, they must yield without Capitulation. And what can so well prevent such Ruin as this Place-Bill, when a total Exclusion of all Placemen is not contended for.

The first Argument against a Place-Bill is this, *That, without the Aid of ministerial Influence, there now can be no Fear*

Fear of the Prerogative of the Crown prevailing over the other Powers of our Constitution ; but, if there were any such Fears, to cure us of ministerial Influence, we must have a Place-Bill, and if this Bill shall pass into a Law, the People's Liberty to chuse Place-men will thereby be restrained : And concludes, That tho' our Plea is Liberty, yet we are afraid of being free. Now, Sir, to consider this Argument, allow me to propose another in my Turn, and which I think is the natural Consequence of this Position, and then you may judge of the Case. It is this,

Our Freedom is in Danger, because, by this Place-Bill, we are not at Liberty to make Choice of Placemen, to represent us, who endanger our Freedom. Alas, Sir, does not this strike full at our Constitution, and aims at no less than thinking and recommending what a free People should abhor as certain Destruction ? Should the People, to be free in their Choice, whether good or bad, become the very Destroyers of their Liberties, this proposed Law must be the Barrier, the only Safety of our Constitution, since otherwise we should become *felo de se*, and hurry ourselves into certain Ruin ; and no Wonder it meets with great Opposition from an Argument, which this Law, when properly sanctified, destroys to all Intents and Purposes. Where is the Wonder, that some Men, in particular Cases, should desire to abridge their own Liberties ? Every Man who voluntarily entails his Estate abridges his own Liberty, but, that done, he thereby devises also a Liberty for his Posterity to possess it, which, had he spent it, had not been in his Power to have bestowed upon them ; and if this is good Reason in private Affairs, it must also be allowed to be a good Maxim in publick Government. Are there not many recent Instances, where the People make Choice of Persons to represent them in Parliament, who, to preserve themselves in Places, have absolutely neglected the Preservation of those Liberties, which our Ancestors purchased with their Blood, which we affirm to be excellent, and without the Possession of which our latest Posterity must be certain Slaves ? Will not the World conclude, that these People are so many Madmen, who make Choice of such Representatives, who, tho' the Constitution and the

the Voice of their Constituents proclaim them the Guardians and Protectors of our Liberties, yet for their own private Views and particular Interest, give them up to the Ambition of one or two, or many, in the Ad——n, to be disposed of at their wife Pleasure? Do not all Nations provide Laws whereby Mad-men are restrained from ruining themselves or others of the Community, who may fall under the Fury of those ungovernable Passions, by which such Mens Minds are continually agitated? What Exemption can those Constituents claim then from the Effects of a Law restraining them from being the certain Instruments of their own Destruction, and which may also affect the whole Society? Is this an Abridgment of Freedom? No; it is purchasing Liberty by destroying the plain Method to procure our Slavery. How bad a Cauist must he then be, who argues, that, by setting aside those from Parliaments, who have, and who, by woeful Experience, we must know will destroy our Liberties, we ourselves are afraid of being free? The Cauil indeed is intolerable, but the Cure proposed to save this but empty Shew of Liberty is its most malignant Poison. But have we not often been told, the best Method to preserve our Liberties, and especially that inestimable one of the Press, was to circumscribe it by Laws: Why should we not also circumscribe our Liberties of electing by this Place-Bill, that, as is falsely insinuated of the Press, this destructive Liberty may not totally destroy the very Purposes for which we enjoy it, and for which it was given us.

Our Author's next Concern is, that if this Bill should pass into a Law, *it will carry in it a most scandalous Charge against the Nation, of being universally venal.* I must observe in general, That, when national Misfortunes are certain to happen, a wise People will consider of Ways and Means to ward off the Blow, and at the same Time provide against the sad Event; yet methinks it is but a low Way of arguing to infer, from some Persons being profligate, that the whole Body politick is debauched; a Rogue indeed allows no Man to be honest, and a Whore allows no Woman to be chaste; but, that those Opinions should be the Consequence of this salutary Law, is a strange Doctrine.

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But if this Charge is just, to satisfy the World of our good Intentions, we will take away the Error it self; otherwise it would be a Peice of false Modesty in us to conceal our Crimes in order to sin on: If we are not guilty in Fact, but ly only under the Suspicion, of being so abandoned, from the too anxious Apprehensions of some Persons, who we think more than ordinarily officious in their anxious Concern for our Reputation and good Character, there is no better Way of proving, or perhaps no other Method of securing our Integrity, than by removing the too just Reasons of suspecting it, and tho' it is sometimes a Pain even but to suspect, yet the Greatness of this Pain occasions a great Desire to remove the Suspicion it self.

But, says our Author, *Who is it that prefers this Charge?* *The Minority certainly, for the Majority deny it, ergo no Charge.* Sir, to humour this Logician, I tell him, *Negatur consequentia*; and this I can prove from our History, and why should not a Minority be allowed to charge now as well as formerly? It is indeed too true the Chargers are the Minority; but were it not for the Hopes that Times may alter, our poor Hearts would break.

However, at last, he is pleased to allow of the Charge, even of this Minority, but *appeals to them, upon what Testimony does this Charge proceed? Do they know it to be Fact from any Observation that comes under their certain and immediate Notice?* *Fer, certainly this Minority dare not attempt to say so.*

Really, Sir, this Question is put so close Home, that not to give it as close an Answer, would make you apprehend we had now betrayed our own Cause, or were under the Pannick of an unaccountable Fear of telling plain Truths; and if my Author has drove me to it, let him see to that.

Yes, Sir, this same despised Minority, an injured Nation, together with the united Voice of the People, groaning under an unaccounted-for Load of Taxes in Time of Peace, know *de facto*, that, of *Placemen* and *Hivelings* in the House of Commons, there were, who last Parliament possest upwards of 212,000 L. annually, to vote for Conventions and useless Negotiations abroad; Letters of unlimited Credit, and Bills for registering Seamen (the Bane of their Liberty)

at

at Home; and that this can be brought to a Certainty by Proof, in Times when our Enquiries into the past Conduct of this present Adm----n shall be allowed of, will be made appear, to shew that this Place-Bill's passing into a Law is now the only Method of maintaining the Liberties of a free People, which, by the *Magna Charta* and Claim of Right, they are entitled to posseſs, and without which, for the Good of the People in general, *British* Government can never ſubſtit.

But, ſays our Author, *The Majority deny every Article, or their being accessory to any Particular of this Accusation.* I answer, That almo' the Majority ſhould deny this Charge, and plead not guilty, yet this is no legal Proof of their Innocence; for, by all Practice, ſuch muſt be brought before a Criminal is acquittēd. I have been in a Court of Justice where there has not been legal Evidence to convict, and yet every Man preſent was perſuaded in his own Mind of the Prifoner's Guilt; therefore, in all political Trials, every Person muſt himſelf be Judge, Jury, and Evidence; for there can- not be any other Proof of a Man's Intentions, if he pleafes to keep them ſecret, than by his Actions; and Actions which relate to the Publick, the Publick have a Right to conſider, censure and reſtrain.

It is agreed, that human Nature is frail, and we, as our first Parents, are all liable to be tempted, especially when private Interest comes in the Balance with publick Trust; ſo we cannot keep too ſtrict an Eye over our ungovernable Ambition. In ſuch an Emergence, ſhould the Tempter attack our weak Side ſo vigorously, that the publick Good we are intruſted with muſt fall a ſcandalous Victim to pri- vate Conveniencē, it is but reasonable our Constitution ſhould interpoſe, and, by ſome prohibitory penal Statute, guard againſt ſuch an Evil, and remove thoſe from being Guardians of our Liberties, who are ſuſpected of being moſt liable to Temptation. Does any Person think *Place- men* endued with ſomething above Humanity, that they ſhould despise the Thoughts of a Br---be? That the Pu- blick have no Reaſon to apprehend any Mischief from them? Or that, ſo ſoon as they are endued with a *Place*, they at the ſame Time partake of angelick Innocence? Sir, it is

is the *Place*, not the *Man*, we fear ; and of any Man posseſt of a *Place*, the Tenor of which he holds at the Will and Pleasure of the Giver, we have most dreadful Appreheſions.

There have been Times when the greatest Patriot Heroes have been, by the all-powerful — induced to give up the most glorious Opportunity of ſaving a Nation quite undone by the bad Practices of a few, even a *Placeman*, convinced of the melancholy Situation of the Merchants of his Country, by the unlawful Captures of their lawful Gains, has ſuffered ſome tender Throwſ of Conscience for their Misfortunes, but a new *Place* has cured these Qualms. Then what more terrible have we to apprehend ?

One can paint a Case, when *He*, who is now in high Power, was in a lower Condition of Life, yet honest and the Favourite of an injured and almost ruined Nation, and who, by his perſuasive Eloquence and convincing Pen, long ſhined the ſuperior Genius of the Liberties of the People ; and particularly, at a precise Period of their Calamities, was to have been the Mouth of the Oppreſſed claiming Justice and Reſtitution from those who had bubbled the Nation. Such were the Expectations of the diſtreft Widow, ſuch the Cries of the ſtarving Orphan, and ſuch the laſt Reſort of thoſe miſerable Sufferers, who, by the general Calamity of thoſe Times, and the unexpected Viſiſtude of their once opulent Fortunes, lay deprived of Reason in Mad-houſes. But alas, what had ruined the Nation was the Cause of his Preferment ! Oh ! what a falling off was there ! Here he lost the nobleſt Opportu‐nity of pouring the Patriot balmy Oil and Wine into the deep Wounds of his bleeding Country ; and, by a certain Contract, he had the Power of doing much Mifchief, but none of doing Good. Let us also repreſent what in latter Times may, or actually has happened.

In the Buſineſſ of the memorabla *Convention* with *Spain* there was a Motion made in one of the Houſes of Parliament, that our ſuffering Merchants ſhould be heard at the Bar of the Houſe, by their Council, againſt the ſeveral Articles of that Treaty. This Motion was rejected, it ſeems,

seems, by a very small Majority; and it was observed, that a certain Member, who never till then was thought an Enemy to this Convention, voted for the Motion: Surprise at the Member's Defection made the Party tremble, and the Friends of this excellent Treaty in a Pannick run to inform their Patron of what had happened; but he, ever calm in all Exigencies of this Kind, equipt this Member with a Place to the Tune of 1200 L. per annum, which Musick had such Charms to sooth his savage Breast, that, when this hopeful Treaty came to be approved of in Parliament, the Member voted as he was directed, ay and paid for; but it was agreed, by proper Connoisseurs in these Affairs, had no Place been given, this Member had given his own Sentiments in the same Way the Nation did, condemning this weak Treaty, which even Geraldino and La Quadra ridiculed in Spain, in the same Strain as it had been made the Object of universal Contempt some Months before in Britain. Such are Placemen, who last Parliament had the Trust and Care of the Liberties and Properties of the free People of Great Britain. Are you of Opinion, Sir, the Liberty of the People will suffer by any Law restraining us from making Choice of such Men to represent us in Parliament?

Our Author proceeds to his second Argument against this Place-Bill, which is this, Our modern Patriots, says he, seem to be mistaken in their Schemes for carrying on this Bill; for they differ entirely from the Practice of their Ancestors, whose Aim was also the maintaining the Liberties of the People, by providing the King's Placemen with Seats in their Parliaments; and the Ground they went upon was this, They supposed such as had Property, would always regard Property, and therefore the Struggles that ensued in the Reigns he mentions, were, Whether those Kings, or their Parliaments, should name their Majesties Officers of State.

Sir, I apprehend it is not my Duty at present, in the Task I have undertaken of reducing this Collection of Quibbles and mistaken Policy, to give Answers to every Argument and Sentence of this Letter. It is enough, if what I advance is consistent with Truth, and agreeable to Reason, and

and is precisely conform to our History. This must defeat the strained Opinions and Glosses of any Author. I submit the Fate of my Reasoning to you, and to every candid Reader, who has declared no Prejudice in Opinion. I shall endeavour not to be imposed upon, as I do not design to impose on others.

It is plain from Practice, that our modern Patriots exactly follow this Scheme of their Ancestors, in chusing Gentlemen of the greatest Property to represent them in Parliament, and I can bring certain Evidence in support of what I say; as in like Manner I can bring strong Proof that the Fault of, and general Complaint against, our modern M—r, is, That the lowest Class of the People are now preferred to be our Representatives. How much of the Publick Money is bestowed at the Period of every Seven Years to buy low People in to represent us in Parliament, and, in that beaten Road of their own Preferment, to be the certain Destruction of the Nation? And at present it happens frequently that the Election of a Person whose Character, even in *Madagascar*, would not be esteemed the most distinguished, must be supported, arithmetical Numbers being inverted, and *political Two* must be found to be the Majority of *numerical Five*. Such indeed are the surest Cards a M----r has to play his Game with, and who exert their Power to bring him in a Slam of Votes to his Mind. These are the Slaves of the M----r, not the Servants of the People.

Pray look but in at a certain modern *Levee*, and frankly tell me if no Persons are there but such who are possest of the greatest Properties. Was there any Person who beheld the House of Commons of last Parliament (begging their Worships Pardon) and say it was only composed of Gentlemen who are possest of the greatest Properties in Land or Money in this Kingdom.

If these are Matters of Fact, why then is it said, That the Method of our modern Patriots differs from the Scheme of their Ancestors, and what a foolish Argument has our Author laid before us, to prove what every one knows to be false? To be thus well represented, was the Care, the Ambition,

bition, of our Patriots in former Ages, and is demonstrably the individual Scheme of those Gentlemen in our Day.

As to the providing the King's Placemen with Seats in Parliament, and the Struggles that subsisted betwixt these Kings and their Parliaments, in naming the Officers of State, I answer, That no Age was ever thought infallible, and, if our Ancestors have erred, we are to follow them in what is right, and to leave their Rules of Government, or amend them wherein they seem to have been visibly in the wrong ; for what was thought to be a Protection against any Invasion upon the Liberty of the People in those Days may now prove its certain Destruction.

The Occasion of those Struggles, our Author is pleased to mention, betwixt King Henry the III. and his Parliaments, was this; *His Majesty had bestowed most of the considerable Places at Court upon Strangers, the Poitovines, and, at the same Time, had quite neglected his British Subjects.* This created Jealousy, and introduced Discord, Faction and Clamour. We have none of these Complaints at present ; Foreigners engross not all the Royal Bounty, by being possess of the most extraordinary and lucrative *Places* of this Nation ; neither is it the present Grievance, that *Britons* enjoy not *British Places* : Our present Complaints are, That too many *British Places* are given unnecessarily to too many Members of our *British Parliaments* ; our Fears are very just, when we apprehend, that, by this intolerable and fatal Expence to the Nation, this too profuse Gift of *British Places*, *British Liberty* may be in Danger of being quite undone by the supernumerary Voices of *Placemen*, who compose and are the certain M——l Majority in the Legislature. From which it is plain, that the Remedy proposed in these Days, against King Henry's bestowing *Places* upon Foreigners, and which also introduced the Struggles betwixt his Majesty and his Parliaments, which of them should name his *Placemen*, or that all these *Placemen*, in virtue of their Offices, should also have Seats in these Parliaments, is the very Grievance we now complain of. Indeed our Ancestors had good Reasons to struggle for this Privilege, but it seems our modern Parliaments have not been so popular, to deserve such a Trust, or such Nomination to be

be put under their Management. Would it be reasonable that our modern Patriots, by strictly copying from their Ancestors, should join their Endeavours to ruin the Constitution, merely because it was the trite Custom of their Fore-fathers ? Or that they should follow these Laws which were made for the Good of the Nation in King *Henry the III's* Reign, and which, if put in Execution in this Reign, would absolutely ruin the present Establishment ? What for an Argument must this be ? What Schemes must it lead us into ? Certainly those of no less Consequence, than that, contrary to Reason, we shall establish the absolute Tyranny of Custom. We have no Apprehensions, that his present Majesty will bestow all his Favours, all the lucrative Places of the Administration upon Foreigners. His known Justice, and his Concern for his Subjects of *Britain*, protect us from these Mischiefs ; but our Suspicions are, That if this Bill passes not into a Law, Ways and Means may be found out, whereby we ourselves may ruin our Constitution, by keeping up its Forms, but abolishing its Essentials, and by sticking to the dead Letter, when we destroy the living Spirit of the Laws of our Country.

In the Reign of *Edward the II.* the Lords and Commons maintained the Liberties of the People, but his Majesty was under ~~M——~~al Influence. Tho' *Gaveston* and the *Spencers* engrossed their Sovereign's Ear, yet they had not practised the Craft of buying a Majority of Voices in the Legislative, to save their Male-administration in the executive Part of the Government, from popular Enquiries : The Struggles with the Parliaments revived, and these Ministers suffered, to satisfy the Injuries of a free People.

But now, Sir, our Suspicions are more affecting, should a ~~M——~~ r acquire to himself an undue Influence in Parliament, to give Sanction, by a seeming legal Authority, to his illegal Adm——n, and at the same Time should engross the Royal Ear, where can the Subjects find Redress ? From their Prince ; that does not seem probable. Can no Redress be had from our Representatives ? Alas ! that seems also to be in vain. These who were chosen to be the Protectors of the Liberties of the People, are now become

become the mere Creatures of the M——r, who, upon a proper Accusation, must be his Judges, but, should they proceed to check him, must be themselves undone. Do you imagine a M——r can be arraigned with any Success before a Court of his own Dependents? Or could any Man expect to convict him there, even upon the most particular and clear Proofs that were ever laid before any Tribunal? No, Sir, the certain Consequences would be a judicial Acquittal of this M——r, let his Crimes be never so manifest, and probably a severe parliamentary Censure against the Accusers, let their Proofs be never so clear and connected.

The Misfortune of King *Richard the II.* was his adhering to his Favourites, against the repeated Advice of his Subjects. Queen *Elisabeth* had Influence in her Parliaments, but, so soon as her Government came to be well established, she disdained it, and, as the Troubles at the Beginning of her Reign ceased, she became the glorious Sovereign of a free and happy People. King *Charles the II.* had too great Influence over one of his Parliaments, which, from this destructive Practice, was called the Pension Parliament; the good Effect this produced, was the Motion for the *Pension-Bill*.

King *James the II.* endeavoured, from a Disposition to Tyranny, the Effect of his anti-constitutional Religion and his weak Councils, also to have the sole Management of his Parliaments, the Effects of which were his abdicating the Crown, and our Deliverance by the Revolution. From which it appears, that our Constitution can never suffer any Persons, accused of engrossing their Sovereign's Ear, lavishing the Treasury, imposing exorbitant Taxes by buying Votes, and, in a Word, becoming absolute, to escape the legal Censures; for in that Case a free Parliament would interpose to maintain what is properly their Right. Should they also engage their Prince in the Design of corrupting his Parliaments, who, by such Influence, might become too arbitrary, and too liberal to his Favourites, the People will always be out of Humour with his Demands; and such Periods have filled our Annals with Scenes of deep Confusion, the Definition of

Liberty, and the unhappy Reigns of our ambitious Monarchs. If such Accusations are well founded in our Days, and are supported by our modern Patriots, I am at a Loss to comprehend wherein they differ in the Method of their Procedure from our Ancestors; for they pulled down Favourites, and we abhor their Tyranny.

Our Author errs in supposing, that, by this Bill, all *Placemen* are to be excluded from sitting in Parliament; for as often as this Motion has been made in either House, it has been declared, that no more is intended, but a Law to exclude such Numbers of *Placemen*, whose joint Voices make Parliaments dependent on the Crown, the Giver and Disposer of these Places. Members in the Service of the Crown are apparently prejudiced, they do not stand on the same Level with other Members, they have different Interests, different Views; and therefore it is not reasonable to hope they should act with the same Candor and Integrity, as those do, who make the Good of their Country the sole Aim of their Service in the Senate. A Country Gentleman, who becomes a Candidate, purely for the Interest of those who send him to Parliament, will see such Things as are laid before him in a quite other Light from that, wherein they are beheld by a Man who has a considerable Stake in the Administration, and who is apprehensive of nothing so much as a Change. This then is one of the Reasons for passing this Bill into a Law; and, as our Ancestors opposed those, who, from self Designs and private Views, endeavoured to destroy our Constitution, that our modern Patriots herein follow their good Example, is, I hope, no Argument to prove any Contradiction betwixt the present Practice and what our Ancestors made the Law of their Country.

That the Luxury of the present Times makes us more suspected to be liable to Corruption than our Ancestors, will, I believe, be granted me, and that the same demands some Changes is also certain; but that our modern Patriots should be loaded with this notable Charge of Corruption, who are endeavouring to support the Structure of our Constitution, the Foundation of which they apprehend to be in bad Trim, from the many Saps that have

have been intended against it for twenty Years past, and particularly, from the intolerable and overgrown Height of the supreme Parts of this Edifice, is as silly to advance, as it is wicked to believe.

This old House of our Constitution seems not to have been the Work of one Reign, of one Age, or to have been compiled under the Administration of one Minister; consequently, as this has been the Work of Time, it has been found necessary to alter its Apartments as Circumstances required, and, by this Time, if our State-Architects had been but tolerable, considering the Excellency of the Materials they have handled for twenty Years, it should have been the most firm, the most noble, the most convenient Pile of building of its Kind in *Europe*. But if, by adorning and embellishing the Statues and Figures at the Top, its Base has been miserably neglected, whereby what has long been the Work, and purchased by the Blood of our Ancestors, is now in hazard of being totally ruined; must the honest Endeavours of our modern Patriots, by the *Place-Bill*, to take off this great Weight above, so as this Constitution may yet be saved, be construed to be gross Errors and Mistakes? Alas! alas! what can protect good Reason from the Fury and Rage of wicked Cavil? Or what can save honest plain dealing Patriotism from the keen Edge of M——ial Calumny?

I am now come to a Contradiction so gross, that one would imagine this Letter-Writer forgot one Line before he wrote another; for (in P. 10.) he ridicules the *Place-Bill*, on a Supposition, that limiting the Choice of the People was an Abridgement of their Liberty; and yet, (P. 18.) he applauds the Wisdom of our Ancestors for parting, in the Case of *Sheriffs*, even with the Right of *Election*, says he, *so that we see our Ancestors were wise enough to secure their Liberties, by giving up such Powers as were dangerous for them, when carried into Execution.* And, in a second Letter, he distinguishes thus, *The People did give up their Right of electing Sheriffs, and I commend them for it; but they did not give it away, otherwise I would not have commended them.*

I apprehend this Distinction is ridiculous, wherefore it seems needless to say any more why it is so, and it is false, which

which I shall prove. I deny that the People did either give up or give away this Privilege of *Election*; it was taken from them in the Reign of *Edward the II.* when many Privileges of the People also suffered. It might have improperly been said to have been given up, because really the People could not keep it, like the *Resignation of Monasteries* to King *Henry the VIII.* which was said to have been voluntarily done, and with the utmost Submission; yet it was well known, that his Majesty had the Gallows for his Advocate: But the Fact is, That the People did not give up this Privilege, for the Parliament interposed in these Elections, as oft as they saw Cause †. From which it is plain, our Ancestors were not so complaisant or tame to the Dictates of Power, either to give up or give away this Privilege. It was Custom that brought the People's chusing of these Officers into Desuetude. Perhaps this Stream might now run as well in its old Channel; I am sure it would save much Dispute in returning Members to Parliament, and political Craft would be of less Use in the Administration of that Office, especially when those Officers presume, under the Protection of Impunity, to commit notorious Injustice. This Charge is heavy, but some Cases, when tried in Parliament, must convince the World of its being true.

There was a good Remedy proposed, and also enacted into a Law, against these pernicious Practices; but when it came to be made use of, *modern Influence* defeated its honest Design.

This Law was made in anno 1733-4, whereby any Sheriff or Sheriff-depute, who falsely returned any Member to sit in Parliament, who had not a Majority of legal Votes, was liable to the Complainant of such undue Return, in the Sum of 500 L. Sterling, and declared this Complaint to be cognizable by the Lords of Session in *Scotland*, who, with all convenient Speed, upon such Complaint, entred within six Months after the Return, were to determine in the Cause upon this penal Statute.

You will remember, Sir, the Case happened in anno 1734; and as the Act was popular, it naturally found Friends, but Influence procured it also many Enemies, and some, from a sublime Sense of their Abilities, and a most strict Adherence to Honour and Honesty, judiciously thought the best

† Vide Bacon's *Political History of the Laws of England*, Part 2. Chap. 9.

best Method to proceed with all convenient Speed, (the Words of the Act) was to delay Procedure altogether, whereby the honest Meaning of this good Law was cast, by putting an inconsistent *Irish* Explanation upon a *British* Act of Parliament, and a certain extraordinary busy P—r, hushed all further Noise, by assuring his Friends, that the only Intent of the Act was to sooth the Minds of a factious Few. Assuming Impudence in him, to make a Law the Subject of his Ridicule in a Corner, which had received the Sanction of the Royal Sceptre in the supreme Judicature of the Nation ! But, alas ! what will these Times turn to ?

The *Election*, Sir, of Sheriffs was popular, therefore safe, and were all *Elections* to be made in the same Manner, there would be much less, if any, Occasion for a *Place-Bill*. From what has been said, it is certain, that our modern Patriots differ not in their Schemes from their Ancestors. The Constitution, and Preservation of those Liberties it provides for the People, were their Care, and our present Business must be to defend these Privileges from being invaded by Persons whose Actions mean them no Good, and if they follow the Method of their Ancestors, which is demonstrated they do by the Plan of the Bill, I affirm that they cannot be mistaken.

Our Author proceeds to shew us, how that possibly we may be mistaken of our modern Patriots; for, says he, *If I see Right, this Place-Bill is an artificial Blind set up to screen secret Purposes, a Scheme dangerous to the People, if not destructive to Liberty.*

Sir, I am not fond of implicite Belief, and in Politicks, without certain Evidence, will not believe at all, wherefore, without good Proof, this Author can gain no Credit with me ; and as for the People, I am of Opinion, the *Pythia* of Delphian Oracles are incapable to convince them that this *Place-bill* is a Blind: *But if it takes Effect*, says he; *it will give such an Accession of Power to the Crown, as will leave no Hopes, but in the personal Merits of the Prince who possesses it.*

Indeed, Sir, out of pure Respect to what I have hitherto been told was common Sense, I cannot be induced to believe this Argument, and if our Author succeeds in his Attempts to convince his Friends, I must think his Scheme

new and without a Precedent : But let us consider if it consists with common Sense.

Nothing is more certain, than that the proper Assistance and Supports of this great Accession of Power to the Crown, are standing Armies modelled to its Pleasure, and in the Senate and Council a numerous Train of Placemen, happy in the Places they enjoy, and fearing nothing so much as to be deprived of them at the Will of the Prince, and who consequently, to secure themselves, will do every thing to please an arbitrary M----r. Under this heavy Load of Administration the Nation must groan, whenever this Majority of Placemen shall decree heavy Taxes to be levied, the *Tea* of unlimited Credit to be passed, and Money never to be accounted for to be granted ; but if, to ease the *Subject* of those *Grievances*, a *Place-Bill* should enact, that instead of 200, there shall be allowed only 50 *Placemen* to sit in the Senate, that the half of the Army shall be disbanded ; is it reasonable to suppose that by this Diminution of *Placemen*, by disbanding the half of this Army, the certain Supports of arbitrary Government, this Prince, or his M----r, will thereby acquire an intolerable Accession of Power ? By what Means can this Doctrine prevail ? or how is it possible to imagine it can be convincing ? I own we have got of late many new Maxims, entirely contradicting those Rules of State, whereby our Ancestors were governed, on purpose, it seems, to reconcile us to a quite new System of modern Policy ; but for Heaven's Sake, let us have no more of these new invented Arguments, to impeach common Sense.

There are many Instances in the *Ergli* story, when we were happy People under the Reigns of glorious and successful Monarchs ; at other Periods this Island was a Field of Blood, and when Contests were not carried so high, Discord and Faction made our Councils weak and unstable. The happy Periods of our History were those, when our Kings, Parliaments, and People, were united, as the Disasters which befel the Nation proceeded from the Attempts made by our Monarchs and Ministers, and by their hireling Tools, to constitute arbitrary Government, the certain Destruction of Liberty, and the greatest Nuisance

sance to a free People : But those Attempts could never succeed when our Princes were well advised, Ministers regarded the Good of the Subject as the Glory of their Administration, and Parliaments were the free Voice of the People, independent of Favours from the Crown. The certain Method for Princes to know the Sentiments of the People, is by the Voice of a free Parliament ; but when this Knowledge cannot be attained to, the Members are the Slaves of the M——r, not the Representatives of the People. We are now told of some unnatural Distinctions this Place-Bill will create, betwixt those who serve their Prince and the Servants of their Country, when (as our Author says) to serve either well, a Placeman must serve both. Sir, hitherto this Gentleman has argued little from Facts, his speculative Fears of Inconveniences have supplied him with Argument ; but, allowing the Case to be the same as he represents it, what is the great Necessity, that every Person who enjoys a Place must have a Seat in Parliament ? Are there not Gentlemen enough in Britain to supply their Seats in that Assembly, whereby our Placemen may have Opportunities of enjoying their Places and the Fruits of their past Labours at home ? But, say the M——ry, it is absolutely necessary Placemen should have Seats in Parliament, and these who sit in Parliament must also enjoy Places, to serve their King and Country well.

The Produce of this Quibble must indeed be excellent ; let this necessary Desire of the Adm——n be then granted them ; let the former Placemen enjoy their Places, and the new Members enjoy new Places also, whereby soon we shall compose a collective Body of Placemen, and, to support this excellent Scheme, let us have also a little political Logick. Says our Author, Formerly, Wages for Attendance in Parliament were due and recoverable at Law by every Member ; but he affirms, That Salaries of Places and these Wages are one and the same Thing, only expressed by different Words ; ergo, every Member of Parliament must by Law have a Place with a Salary. At this Rate, it is true, we shall neither have Dissensions nor Distinctions, but what in the mean Time must become of our Constitution ? Let our Author look to that. But, to cut down this weak

Argument,

Argument, I shall here establish what I apprehend is the essential Difference betwixt a *Place* and the *Wages* I mentioned. Where is the Law to compel a M——r to pay a Gratuity, or continue a Place with a Salary to a dutiful Member? But what a Person can recover at Law, if his Title is evident, he reckons his Property, and as the Law of his Country must be his Judge, he can be under no Influence, but such as his Reason and the good Cause of his Constituents promotes in his honest Breast; but if he has a Claim of Gratuity, entirely depending upon the Will of another, it may be suspected his private Interest will rule his Reason, and suggest an Apology to his honest Conscience, for what from private Convenience and separate Views he is obliged to pursue: This makes the great Difference betwixt the present Dependence of a Salary, and the Wages due by Law to Members of Parliament: However, if Placemen must needs have Seats in Parliament, it is natural to suspect it may be for some secret Purposes, and upon account of some certain Practices behind the Curtain, that the Seats of these Gentlemen are so much contended for; but, says our Author, *Their Merit and past Services entitle them to these Rewards.* I can assure you, Sir, there is nothing I should apprehend with more Pain, than this Misapplication of the Merits and Services of my Countrymen; for we all know, that *Places* are not given to the *Man of Merit*, but to the *Representative*, not to reward his Services, but to corrupt his Conduct: I have already given some Instances of these Practices. But if, by this *Place-bill*, we are to have new Distinctions, from which it is impossible we can suffer any Harm, it is better to be possest of these distinguishing chimerical Apprehensions, than to be turned out of Possession of what all the World thinks our Safeguard from unnatural Innovations, introduced on Purpose to destroy our present Rules of Government, *wiz.* free Members elected by a free People, to represent them in a free and independent Parliament.

In short, nothing can be more obvious, than that, so soon as this *Place-bill* becomes a Law, we shall have no more Distinctions; and if it is allowed its greatest Force, whereby all *Placemen*, except the King's Officers of State, our Ad-

Admirals and the Generals of the Armies, shall be incapacitate to sit in the House of Commons, from this good Scheme no *Aera* of Dissent can commence : Indeed if one Man is preferred, when all equally apprehend their Merit, Dissent may be the Consequence ; but when our Members by this *Place-Bill* have no Rewards, no Places to expect, but such as the Law provides for them, all Discords, Jealousies, Murmurings, and the whole Train of mischievous Dissentions, can find no Subsistence in such well governd Assemblies.

We are now told by our Author, that *the intrusting the Crown with the executive Power is for the Good and Benefit of the People.* This Position, tho' it has been often told us, must be true or false, just as the Crown pleases ; for, as our Princes use their Prerogative, we can form a certain Judgment, whether they intend much Good or much Harm to the People. He further proceeds thus ;

Can any Thing be plainer, than that those who are employed by the Crown, in the executive Part of the Government, are in reality the Servants of the People ? Are they not taken from the People ? Are they not provided for by the People ? How strange a Thing then to cut them off from the People, for that which in Reason ought more closely to unite them. Perhaps they are divided, but if it is so, which can never be proved, it were an odd Practice to enact they must never come together again.

It is true, Sir, the Servants of the Crown are taken from the People ; but it is as true, those Servants have been often taken from the very Dregs of the People, and such Servants were the State-Leeches and Blood-Suckers in Richard the II. and Henry the VII's Reigns. If they are the Servants of the People, would it not be reasonable to expect they should be so far dutiful, as to receive their Pay-masters Instructions, and strictly follow them in what is lawful, and for the Good of this paying People ?

In private Life, is there any Person who would make Choice of one for his Servant, who he thinks will not obey his Instructions, or will he continue a Man in his Service who neglects this Duty ? I am sure then this Argument must be stronger in publick Affairs, in as far as a Nation's Loss, by this Neglect of our representative Place-

Men, is of more dangerous Consequence, than the Loss which any private Man suffers by the Neglect of his Servant. What clearer Proof can be adduced, to convince the Nation, how far the Interests of our Representatives in the last Parliament were divided from the Publick Good, than their unreasonable refusing even to read our Petitions against the late Convention with *Spain*? And does not the first Part of our Author's Letter, stuft with M——ial Quibbles against this notable Privilege of instructing our Members, plainly demonstrate, that the wise Scheme of these Gentlemen and their Patron contains certain Destruction to the People? Wherefore, convicted of the horrid Practice of carrying on separate Interests from those of People their Pay-masters, let us enact this *Place-Bill Law*, whereby these undutiful Servants and the People can never come together again.

No Person denies the Money of the Crown to be the Money of the Publick; but a great many with good Authority affirm, that the Publick Money has been employed by the Crown, against what they apprehend was the unquestionable Liberties of the People; and if this is now Fact, or has ever been the Case, How can our Ad——ft——n legally account for the expending of the Publick-Money?

I agree with our Author, when he says, that no Thing becomes a Senator so well, *as to be conversant in publick Business*; and nothing can be more certain, than that the Knowledge of the Laws of his Country must form his Mind to that particular Science, whereby he can distinguish, if what is enacted in Parliament is for the Good of the People, or if it is not so; if the Glory and Trade of the Nation is sufficiently supported, if contrary Measures produces just Clamour at Home, and at what Period an honourable Peace can be established with our Enemies abroad; and especially in the Cases of strict Enquiries into the Management of any of the Members, who, in virtue of the several Departments in their Offices, have the sole Trust of all our Publick Affairs, his Practice will inform him of what is a Breach of that great Trust, or what is the dutiful Discharge of it; of what is the Law of his Coun-

Country, or of what is the Sting of Party ; of what will strengthen, or of what will entirely destroy our Constitution. And if in his Office he acts freely, such an one is certainly possest of all the good Qualities of an excellent Representative. Who would not then wish all our Members of Parliament so well qualified ? But what was Cromwell's Fault originally, as our Author says, has also been adopted by us into modern Practice : For instance, in anno 1734, an Act of Parliament was made, whereby the Lords of Session in Scotland were incapacitate to be chosen Members of the House of Commons, probably to sacrifice the Interest of the Publick to the Views of some private Men.

Those Senators enjoy their Offices for Life, and if they, from a publick Spirit, made their Service in the House a free-will Offering to the People, how agreeable with our Author's Rules as to *Placemen* was it, by this Act to divide them from the People, and to punish a Set of Men for the Knowledge of the Laws of their Country, which our Constitution, which our Acts of Parliament, and which the Royal Letter constituting them Judges, declare they of all Men should and actually do best know ? What will the World think of our Author's candid Way of reasoning, who labours under great Terror, that, if this *Place-Bill* should pass into a Law, the Liberty of the People in chusing their Representatives will thereby be abridged; and yet we all know he was the great Promoter of this Law, whereby the same Liberty of the People was abridged in the chusing of these eminent Men to sit in the Legislative, who are declared by our Constitution to be the Oracles of the Law of our Country. One will think, and with a good Deal of Reason I apprehend, that the old *Coventry Inductum Parliamentum* was to come into Fashion again, whereby all Lawyers were prohibited to be elected Members of Parliament, and that such is our present Scheme is also certain ; for, amongst the sixteen Peers who represent Scotland, there is not a Lawyer but ONE, and it is reported of him particularly, that ever since another Peer, an eminent Lawyer too, upon a certain notable Expedition of his some seven Years ago, gave him a strong Contradiction in Judgment,

ment, and which in that Country Dialect is called *giving the Lye*, he has taken particular Care to have no Rivals in that excellent Profession of his.

Lord Coke endeavoured to heal this Wound in our Constitution ; but no sooner did somebody commence State-Physician, than, to cure it in his own Way, he opened up the old Sore again ; and if it should now fester, and become an incurable State-Gangrene, how can this blundering Doctor *Dunce* account for these political *quack Receipts* of his ?

Why should the Service of our Representatives in Parliament become the certain Road of their Preferment with the Min—r ? This indeed is to hire them to do what in Duty their Country expects from them, and to perform what in virtue of their Office the Constitution expressly requires of them. Is no Person qualified to sit in Parliament, but those whose chief End it is to get into this Road of Preferment, in order to prefer themselves and bully and hector it over their poor Country ? Are we to pay most grievous heavy Taxes, and also pay them who lay us under those heavy Burdens, to fill their own Pockets and heighten the Lustre of their private Families, to undo their Constituents ? To our fatal Experience we know this to be as true, as the same Experience informs us it is a most wicked Practice ; but such are the Views of a certain Set of Men entirely dependent on the M—r, and who are the very Individuals this *Place-bill* designs to purge out of our Parliaments : For, since those Persons have such a strict Dependence upon our Ad — n, this Dependence will be much safer out of the House than in it ; and it is now impossible to propose any other Remedy for this general Disease, That no sooner a Person is elected to a Seat in Parliament, but he must be hired with a *Place* ; to do what ? *To think and act in such a docile Capacity as he shall be directed and paid for*. For, according to a certain Author who wrote some Twenty four Years ago, *One would imagine there*

[†] *A Vindication of the Conduct of R—t W—le E—squire, printed anno 1717.*

there was somethingl of Magick in Places and Preferments; for one no sooner steps into them, but he acquires all the Perfecti-ons of a little Divinity ; and he is no sooner turned out, but the Charm is undone, and he becomes the most disagreeable and infamous of all Mankind ; wherefore, let Men in present Power take Care of their future Fate. I can produce my Autho-ri-ty for this, to shew the World our greatest Men have their artificial Blinds as well as our modern Patriots.

Indeed, if this proposed Bill becomes a Law, some Men will not view Parliaments with that Love and Veneration they did formerly. The oldRoad to Preferment will be shut up, the passionate Love of Places will then be turned to an honest and sincere Regard for the Common-good, and the great Veneration with which they beheld profuse M-----rs will then make them the Object of their Scorn and Contempt, to see such once glorious Men under the dreadful Apprehensions of being called to Account, not as former-ly before their Accomplices, but before these Judges where their Innocence or their Crimes must fairly acquit or le-gally punish their Administration.

This Bill will cure all our Jealousies and Distinctions ; for Opposition can never prosper when Faction ceases, and we ourselves are at Liberty to make a free Choice of these to serve us, who, to serve their Country, will forfeit a M_____r's Favours.

Sir, we are now to consider an odd Paragraph in Page 26th of this Letter ; and one would thereby be induced to think, that none but *Placemen* have either deserved well, or are at present possi-est of the People's highest Esteem and Re-spect. It is too true, that in last Parliament there was a Ma-jority of *Placemen* chosen Representatives, who, for strong Reasons of their own, despised the Petitions and contemned the Instructions of their Constituents ; but in this Parlia-ment the People, who in the last were so miserably neglect-ed, have justly punished thir *Placemen*, by making their pre-sent Choice become a *Place-bill* to them, which has of Course excluced these dutiful Representatives from practi-sing in their old beaten *Road of Preferment*, the Legisla-tive of the Nation ; and as the People have already made Trial

Trial of their Qualifications, their former heinous Sins become now their grievous Punishment, by totally excluding them from serving their King and Country in any Station whatever: And as these Gentlemen have deserved no Thanks from their Constituents, so the People of *Britam* have now made Choice of such Men, whose honest Behaviour not only the House of Commons but the Nation must have such Sentiments of, as to deem them the worthy Representatives of a grateful Society: But if our Author is concerned for our Want of Faith, or a suitable Faculty of discerning if these Things are so, or thinks that a political Dimness obstructs our Sense of Seeing, to endeavour the Cure of our weak Eye-sight we have changed our State-Physicians, and to make our Faith as strong as our Practice, we have amended our Maxims and Manners; and when we follow this *Place-purging Regimen*, what has long been the Shame, will soon become the Glory of free and uncorrupted *British* Parliaments.

Great indeed was the Pride of our Parliaments, who, upon the Duke of Marlborough's Return from his glorious Conquests on the *Danube*, gave him their grateful Thanks for the eminent Services he had done his Country. He delivered the House of *Austria* from impending Ruin, he restored Liberty to the Diet, and Peace to the Empire, he was the Heart and Soul of the Confederacy, and proved the constant Terror of the arbitrary Power of *France*, procured to *England* the Balance of the Power of *Europe*, whereby *Fate* was in the Ned, and supplicant Monarchs in the Train, of his glorious Sovereign Queen *Anne*. General *Webb* had also the Honour of the Thanks of the House, when with a Handful of brave *Britons* he defeated an Army of 24000 *French* and *Spaniards* at *Wynendale*, and thereby secured the important Conquest of *Lyle*, and gave a dreadful Blow to *France*. Such were those Patriots, and such are the grateful Commons we still hope to see. From which it appears, contrary to our Author's following Paragraphs, that such Acts of Gratitude, as were decreed to these Heroes, were rather thankful Monuments than Acts of Munificence, or pecuniary Rewards, so much now in Request. They were designed to inspire others with an Emulation to serve their Country

Country with an equal Zeal, by making them such publick Acknowledgments of their Services.

But now our Author seems under Apprehensions for the Fate of his favourite *Placemen*, and then in a Pet tells us the Consequence of their Disgrace. Grateful Anxiety! to support his *Myrmidons* at the Expence of his but too grateful Country, already in 50,000,000 of Debts, and intolerably so in a particular Article where it was least suspected, I mean the *Civil List*, without Allies to protect her, and without Money to vindicate her just Rights (I use the Phrase of a certain all-accomplished M——— Ambassador in Parliament.) Did the Members of the last House of Commons return his Excellency their Thanks for his *wise Negotiations*? It was Pity they did not, he's a *Placeman* too.

Then no more higgling about the Matter, but to make an End of Contentions, Heart-burnings, and all the Ribaldry of Discord and Faction, let us have weak Administrators, weak Measures, the Effects of very weak Councils, exactly to correspond with our weak Allies, and our still weaker Treasury, that we may at length agree to make a weak Resistance against every Invader of our Constitution, since nothing else can appease our Author's strong Desires to revenge the disbanding of his Squadrons of *Placemen*.

But what has induced him to advance such a ridiculous Position, as to bring a Paralel betwixt the *self-denying Ordinance* and this *Place-bill*? For the one was the total Exclusion of Civil and Military Officers from Parliament, and the enthusiastick Notion of Fanaticks and other Sectaries, who basely thirsted after the Blood of their Prince; but as this is the Effort to exclude a supernumerary *Yea or No* from the Legislature, where nothing because of the Number of *Placemens* Voices can be heard; so it is the certain Resort of such who wish the Reign of his present Majesty as full of Glory as any of his Predecessors, and who aim at nothing so much as to restore the Constitution at home, the Glory and Trade of the Nation abroad, to their former Lustre: And as at Present such a total Exclusion is not meant by this proposed Law, so even all the Artifice of *Cromwell* could not cram his Scheme down, so as to make it fit easy in Parliament; wherefore, in this,

as in all well-meant moderate Schemes, better Success is highly probable.

Sir, by the Contexture of our Constitution, its final Period must draw nigh when ever extreme Power prevails : The Blood of our Ancestors was shed in the Struggle of maintaining, or expelling the Extremity of, arbitrary Government, and a too great Inclination to extirpate the Regal, and to introduce a democratical Power, made us also a Field of Blood ; but when we proceed by this *Place-Bill* to defeat the Self-views of an extreme Majority, must this honest Design be reproached with the Cavil of our horrid Calamities under the ungovernable Rage of Enthusiasm ; But to vindicate us from all Aspersions, the Promoters of this Bill cannot have the same Views as Cromwell had, in promoting the self-denying Ordinance ; for if that were the Case, and our Patriots were in Power, they must be the first Sufferers, and first feel the Effects of the Law : Wherefore, allow them at least the common Use of Charity, that none will enact Laws to undo themselves, or destroy a great Part of that Power, of which one Time or other they hope to be possesst : And this induces me to think there is no true Comparison betwixt what was a political Catch in Cromwel's Days, to engross the sole Power of modelling the Army to himself, and this honest Design of our modern Patriots, a *Place-Bill*, who thereby labour to give the Nation Security against themselves the Moment they enter upon the Administration.

Sir, can there be a better Reason, why we are not content with our present Condition, than this plain one, That it is the Effect of our present Adm——n, which, for these twenty Years past, has drove us from Bad to Worse, that now we are brought under such Dilemmas, as no Briton remembers Days like ours, bereft of whatever can do us Good, whilst an impending Storm is but too too apparent suddenly to burst, with incredible Rage, upon our distracted Coun——ils ; and how soon, as we are reserv-ed for the last, may we become the sweetest Morsel, God only knows : But, to cure us of all Apprehensions of this Sort, says our Author, let Matters rest where they are,

M——rs

Mi——rs of State and Generals of our Armies, continue in Parliament.

This Demand was never denied to any who asked it, and I am certain this *Place-Bill* designs to exclude none of them; for so long as these Gentlemen's Rules of Administration mean well to the State, their being Members of Parliament is allowed, both by the Patriots and the *Place-Bill* also, to contribute much to the Dignity and Power of that august Assembly.

But did you never hear, Sir, that even without a *Place-Bill*, some of our ablest Generals have been turned adrift, for opposing some Bills, which they honestly thought inconsistent with the Liberties of their Country? What Law, or what sudden Fit of Jealousy turned out Lord Cobham? Why, as a Person already convicted, was Lord Stair under Disgrace, when no Charge was preferred against him? And what Reason was given, why, last of all, the Duke of Argyle lost his Places? I am none of those who pry into the *Arcana* of State Affairs, but common Fame reports common Things, which frequently resolve into common and honest Truths.

Thus it was said, that a certain hon——le Gen——n being jealous of the too great Honour and Honesty of Cobham, blindly to follow the Dictates of his Power, made that Lord's fall conspicuous. The opposing the *Excise-Scheme*, which the Nation agreed was their certain Ruin, convicted Lord Stair, and his Grace of Argyle was dismiss'd for his Modesty in refusing to command a M——l Army of terrible Beaux, who were formidably encamped to the amazing Terror and certain Destruction of—— all the Pigs and Poultry of the neighbouring Counties. But it was well known this Gen——n, by the Disgrace of these Peers, kept his Word in Parliament, when he asserted in that Assembly, *That any M——r must be a very pitiful Fellow, if he did not immediately turn out those who should oppose his Measures by making him less a M——r*

Yet notwithstanding these excellent Patriots seem not to be mistaken, for they still continue, by their known Wisdom and boasted Dexterity, to conduct the Management

of this *Place-Bill*, to save the Nation from certain Ruin, and
British Parliaments from overgrown ~~M~~ ————— Influence.

As for the Examples of other Patriots, such as *Pym*,
Hampden and *Hollis*, mentioned in this Letter, I own I am
at a Loss to find out the Reason of the Instance; for
Pym impeached *Strafford*, that Minister suffered, so *Pym*
was not mistaken; King *Charles the I.* was mistaken of
of *Hampden's* Views, which meant his Majesty well, so that
Prince and not *Hampden* was mistaken; *Hollis* condemned
the Parliament's Declaration against the King, and was
always moderate, so neither was *Hollis* mistaken: But now
our modern Patriots are endeavouring to cure some grand
Mistake, whereby we have been led into a Series of gross
Mistakes for these twenty Years past, and I heartily wish
them Success: Indeed if they delay, the Patient may
die before the Cure be applied, this *Place-Bill*, this Banc
of Ministers and Catholicon for the People.

Now, if Passion and Concern for our Country, and Pre-
judices against an Adm——n, the Designs and Suc-
cesses of which never meant our Constitution well, lead and
govern us into this *Place-Bill* Law, I am really of Op-
inion, Sir, it is an excellent good Road, and I sincerely
wish us safe and soon at our desired Journey's End, the
Glory of the Nation, the Advancement of our Trade, the
Payment of our heavy Load of Debts, by a frugal but hi-
thereto neglected Management of the Revenue, Success to
our Arms, prosperous Days in *Britain*, under a steady, a
wise, a moderate Adm——n, and a glorious and long Reign
to his present Majesty, which, as sincerely dutiful Subjects,
we hope will constitute him the Lawgiver to *Europe*.

When our Author thinks he cannot fully convince the
Nation, that our modern Patriots are mistaken in their
present Measures, he is at length graciously pleased to
adopt them for Brethren of *modern Politicks*, who pre-
tend one Thing and really design another; yet, says he,
it is easy to guess why this Place-Bill is pushed, &c. Al-
tho' we disclaim all Manner of Relation to this Politician,
and if his profound Wisdom has suggested to him this no-
table Discovery, yet we are at a great Loss to think of a
good Reason to induce us to make Use of this Politick of
Double-

Double-dealing : For if we thought the Nation quite happy in all Respects, under our present Admirers, there would be no Occasion for opposing them ; and if our Representatives were directed by the free Impulse of their honest disposed Minds, there might be perhaps as little Reason for pushing this *Place-Bill*; but Experience, not subtle Argument, demonstrable Facts, not distant and uncertain Consequences, plain Truths, and not State-Quibbles, have demonstrated the contrary. And as the Design and Meaning of this *Place-Bill* is plain and obvious, so it needs no political Aid whatever to make it pass in Parliament.

If the Civil List is in Debt, as it cannot be denied but it is, who are they who will not complain of this gross Abuse, and who at the same Time wish well to the Honour of his Majesty's Reign? Will not the Nation complain? Are the Patriots mistaken if they condemn the gross Mismanagement of this Fund? Or are the People mistaken of our Patriots Measures, who endeavour to redress the Grievances we suffer, and the Embarrass into which his Majesty's Affairs may be plunged by the Mismanagement of this Fund? Must there not be an Addition to the present Civil List to pay its Debts? And is not this Imposition, together with the intolerable Burden of Taxes, kept up to maintain Fools and Knaves for secret Purposes and wretched Services? And when the accounting for the annual expending of such immense Sums has been proposed in Parliament, it has been so mouthed by their Tools, who speak for no other Purpose, but to keep up all those illegal Impositions, which, as the Spoils of a conquer'd Country, they share, that such legal Enquiries have always been rendered useless, and all Attempts to bring these bad Practices to Light by certain Proof, have also thereby failed of Success.

For what Purpose are we entertained by our Author with the Example of a refined Politician in King *Charles* the II's Days, who, tho' he disengaged his Majesty, had yet the Art to keep well with his Brother the Duke of York; let us rather fix our Attention upon Transactions of a more modern Date. I can assure you there are Instances, where a certain Adept in this political Art, even at the Expence of the Loss of the Esteem of his Country and of his Constituents,

tents, had the Art to keep well with his Friends in the Courts of France and Spain, and designed to have made them a Present of a certain Right belonging directly by Conquest to the Crown of Great Britain. Was this a Mistake of our modern Patriots? No really, I apprehend it was an egregious ill-timed Blunder of our modern M——rs. Does the Recoinage attributed to the Lord Halifax plead an Excuse for another M——r's destructive Excise Scheme? Or, if Richard is a Rogue to his Country, will Rob——n be excused, if he persists in his Wickedness to perpetrate its certain Destruction?

To what poor Shifts must those Gentlemen be reduced, when they advance such Arguments to vindicate their Procedure by which our Adm——n is directed? And who will rather skulk their Practices behind the Faults of former M——rs, than want those Pretences to colour and varnish over some Transactions, which all the World knew to have been the egregious Errors of their Predecessors in Office; but these serious Matters, in the Mouths of our modern M——l Scribblers, are treated with the utmost Contempt, when they assume the Impudence to compare them to the Diversion of School-Boys on Shrove-Tuesday. But this indeed is the Effect of that Impunity, whereby some Men are hurried on from one Iniquity to another, to ruin a Nation, whose suffering Populace pay very dear to purchase to those Men the Liberty to proceed in an Uniformity of Guilt.

In Page 33. of our Author's Letter, we are told *how happy the People are who enjoy the Prerogative of accusing and impeaching, which is now of such Force, that no Pardon can avail, or be pleadable against it.* Sir, I am of Opinion this seemingly wonton Play with the keen Edges of the Instruments provided by our Constitution to punish all State-Malefactors, shews us plainly there is something rotten in a certain State; for Instance, a Criminal needs be under no Pain from an Apprehension of being convicted by the Force of legal Evidence, when he is certain to escape the Punishment of the Law by corrupting his Judges. It has been observed, some Persons have played with Serpents, from a too hardy Contempt of the Bite of that Animal, which, when roused by improper Touch, has bit them to Death; and who knows what is in

in the Wind now, if, by intolerable Affronts, and repeated Injuries, our wisest Serpents should throw off their too long-suffering Patience of being rudely handled?

The Earl of *Danby*, induced by this Contempt of Fear, played with what he ought to have been most afraid of; for it was his usual Boast, The Treasury had never been so well managed, the publick Money had never been so well applied, that he defied his worst Enemies, and contemned the Impotence of all his Adversaries; and even after his Impeachment he assured the Lords he could make his Innocence appear. But at length he discovered there was no Subterfuge for Guilt, and therefore chose rather to submit to a voluntary Banishment, than to rely upon his so much boasted Integrity. Indeed, if Parliaments should at any Time come under the arbitrary Controul of an evil M—r, how might he not proceed from bad to worse with Impunity! And that Part of our Constitution which is designed to restrain and curb him, become his Prostitute to defend and protect him; and as our modern Patriots are labouring to stop the mighty Torrent of this illegal and dangerous Influence, so highly prejudicial to the Existence of our Constitution, with what a Front does our Author or any Person say, That the Nation is mistaken of the Measures of our modern Patriots?

According to our Author's ingenious Method of summing up the Periods of our History, it would seem almost certain, that we have been a Nation peculiarly curst under the Ad——n of some of the very worst of GOD's Creatures, such as ambitious Kings, arrogant, oppressive and rebellious Lords, and the worst of all these Tyrants, restless, unruly and disaffected Commons; yet, methinks, he wants one Species out of this black List, to compleat our national Catalogue of Monsters, and these are the Creatures of GOD's Anointed, I mean P——e M——rs. And shortly to solve you, Sir, of the Fate of those Worthies, some of them died of the Disease, which in History we find to be almost epidemick to the Profession, *that is*, a Tumor under the Ear, called a Knot; some of them died under that ugly popular Instrument the Axe, and four of them suffered by a rascally factious Crew, called Sturdy-Beggars; some of those righteous Gen——n were saved by sacrificing their Masters,

Masters, eight of them died in Exile, and in a private Way, and so disappointed the publick Show of their eminent Exit ; some of them died in Prison, and very probably by the Fatigue of too much Study in writing the Vindication of their past Conduct, and one only became penitent ; but History seems to be altogether silent, if or not he refunded.

Now what has been will be, in Spite of all Art ; the Nature of Things cannot be inverted, and even those eminent and consummate Politicians, with all their Craft and Wisdom, could not interpose betwixt Causes and Events : And it also may happen, that those who by some very modest Gentlemen are called *Mobbs*, may, in virtue of this Title, find it much for their Interest, to pull down the overgrown Power of certain *stately Images*, to satisfy the honest Enquiries of these who are falsely called their Idols.

Let us now pass over these unpleasant Subjects, and come to that of the *War*, the Object of the People's Wishes, and the great Care of our most excellent M----r, the faithful Servant of this most wishing, but alas ! I am afraid in vain expecting People, and as it becomes the Importance of this weighty and well managed Busines, I shall introduce it in the best Manner, and in the Words of the very best Author who ever put Pen to Paper on the mighty Subject of a *fabulous War*.

*At nunc torrentia Martis
Arma VIRUMQUE cano,*

As it is universally agreed, that the Conduct of foreign Affairs is the most difficult Part of a Minister's Department, one would naturally think that he must be a very expert M----r, who would take the sole Management of this troublesome Work upon himself ; he ought to be one who has a general Knowledge in political Affairs, not only of his own Country over which he presides, but of others too with which he may be concerned ; and it would also have been requisite that such an one had been abroad, and conversant with Persons in those Countries who could best inform him of the different Politicks, the Strength and particular State of the Revenues of these Nations, the Characters of their chief

chief and great Men, to enable him to make the best Use of these Reflections ; to know what his own Country is capable of performing, whom it has to fear and whom not, and what is its true Interest in every Circumstance and at all Conjectures. I affirm it to be travelling in other Countries well used that accomplishes the Minister for the Cabinet and the General for the Field : it is not what every Booby tells him of this and that Country, and what every quaint Spark sounds in his Ear of this or that great Prince, that must give him his Knowledge ; it is a Study by itself, peculiar to certain Men, who naturally must have a Turn of Mind that Way ; wherefore, he who either naturally wants or has neglected to acquire these Qualifications will certainly meet with Difficulties, which will resolve in Attacks upon his Management, particularly when his Measures are unsuccessful, and his Councils are the weak Result of Ignorance in those Affairs which so much concern a Nation in our present Circumstances.

I own 'tis impossible to please every Person in particular, or the Nation in general ; but then it is as absurd to argue, that the whole Body of the People is mistaken in these Matters, one Man only excepted ; this must either be the Effect of an almost more than human Understanding in this superior Genius, or the human Natures of many are most grossly imposed upon ; neither am I easily to be persuaded, that he who contemns Popularity, can at the same Time have a great Regard for the Interests of the People, or if this is a just Method of arguing, at least it is not perceptibly so to every Capacity, which induces me also to think it may be instructing us *in obscurum per obscurius*, a Method that in all active Progression, particularly in War (unless we declare the same for certain Purposes shall be retrograde) is quite repugnant to what the Generality of Mankind think to be common Sense, and must be far more unintelligible in what is agreed to be the Art of War.

Now, if a certain hon—ble Gentl—n should labour under those Wants of the all-accomplishing Ministerial and General-Skill, as I propose to examine some Pieces of his Conduct, I shall treat him with sincere Truth, what I know to be such, and what I can bring well attested to be

To, and I hope he and his Friends will as candidly adhere to this Principle; the Nation will think much the better of them if they do.

But now, Sir, if we should propose to prosecute this War according to the Rules of Philosophy, really the War would go heavily on, and if nothing but Philosophy prevails, it will basely corrupt our most necessarily war-like Spirit, by leading us into the unaccountable Nonsense of Times proper and improper, occasional Delays, dull Proceedings, Seasons of fair and foul Weather, Storms, contrary Winds: I had indeed almost forgot, that there is a great Deal of political Philosophy necessary to account for *contrary Winds*; however, those casual Accidents will happen, but right Reason was always the known and old Light of most Philosophers, for, by following the Dictates of this, the *Impetus* of all unruly Passions become feeble. Practicable Attempts in War are the best Measures to conduct it in its vigorous Prosecution; wherefore what is most plausible, tho' least practicable, a wise General will reject; by which Means he needs be under no Apprehensions to be run down for preferring *Show* to *Substance*: But if, to show away and bully a little, he should neglect probable and practicable *Substance*, whereby he could most effectually distress our Enemies in the tenderest Part of their Dominions, would the World or the Nation vindicate or approve the Conduct of this M——ial General or Admiral? I appeal to our Author, and neither demand a probable nor philosophical Answer, but a fair and downright honest Answer; and such the Nation must have; for my poor Share, I will not be satisfied with the quibbling Similitudes to the motly M——ry or their Measures, whether in the Parliament or Cabinet in King *William's* Reign: These neither affect me nor the Nation at present: I am an Enquirer, and I must have Satisfaction to my Enquiries, to which I also plead an undoubted Right in virtue of my being a Freeholder, a Supporter of this War by the Payment of my Proportion of Taxes, and more especially, since these War undertakers are at such Pains to vindicate its Conduct from all Aspersions which can with Reason affect them.

If

If our Author and his Friends prefer Substance to Show, as we hope they always will, particularly in the vigorous Prosecution of this War, may not we endeavour to know what substantial Service our most showy Fleets have performed? But if this mighty Secret is not yet ripe for Discovery, I will honestly inform you, Sir, what Opinion we in the Country have of those Matters. Upon Enquiry we find, that for the two preceding Summers, our Fleet in the *Channel* has been tripping it and plying it, to exercise our Seamen, to teach them the inimitable Art of sailing, and some say that Dexterity in the Matter, to sail even against contrary Winds and cross Accidents; our Marines too, the Terror of the World, have now acquired the Method of attacking Forts and Castles; but one of our merry Waggs whispers it about, that those Castles may perhaps have been some of Don Quixot's important Fortresses. This may indeed have been the Result of these formidable Expeditions, for in all the *Channel* there is not a Castle well worth looking at but *Dunkirk*, and that belongs to our French Friends and Allies. But what do I say? Its Fortifications were demolished five Years since, at least one of our modern Generals declared so in Parliament. In short, these notable Expeditions have done our brave Fellows as much Good as the Convention, that is, the one delayed the War till we had prepared every Thing suitable to push it boldly,—or let it alone; and by the other, we delay'd attacking, until our Sailors and Marines had fully learned the excellent Art of this most glorious War. Thus well exercised, and as well disciplined, did Sir John Norris sail this Summer to the Coast of *Spain*, with these formidable Sea-Lions on Board of the most showy Fleet that ever rode upon the Western Ocean; but when the World expected that not a Castle would have been left undemolished, and not a *Don* upon the *Spanish* Shore, but must have been made a Prisoner, he returned most safely into Port again *re infecta*. I am sure there is never an old Man in *England* remembers to have seen such a fine showy Fleet, and at the same Time I am apt to believe that such an one's Memory could as little serve him to recollect when with such a substantial Squadron so little of Substance was performed.

What became of our last Year's *political Winds*?—ay rot them! not a Breath stirring to furnish his Ho——r with his last Year's Cant of an Excuse for keeping our brave Fleets in the *Channel*, and for delaying our *West Indian Expedition*; But it seems our *Sir Politick Noodle* has got so much of peaceful Wisdom, as to defy either the Opportunities of Winds or Tides, to perswade him to give one smart Blow for *Jenkin's Ear*. Then how can these War-undertakers plead Immunity from this common and true Accusation of preferring Show to Substance?

But come, Gentlemen, as we seem to be of one Profession, Brethren Authors, let us make up all Differences; and for once pluck up your Courage, and to the World amazed at your Inactivity, and to your injured and expecting Country, show your selves for once Men of Resolution. I know there can be no better Materials than those with which you are furnished, and to rouse you from this *Le^echary* I will presume to offer you an Allegory most *a-propos* from an *English Freeholder*, who did not scruple to give his Money, provided the Honour and Trade of *Britain* was maintained; the Person is *Justice Balance*, who, in the *Recruiting Officer*, spoke in the successful Reign of the glorious Queen *Anne*, accusing the motly Ministry of King *William*, whom others have also wisely upbraided since. He says, *Look ye, Captain Plume, give us but Blood for our Money, and you shall not want Men.* I remember that for some Years of the last *War* we had no Blood, no Wounds, but in the Officers Mouths, Nothing for our Millions but News-Papers not worth the reading; Our Army did nothing but play at Prison Bars, and Hide and Seek with the Enemy.

Now, for Shame, Gentlemen, how can you tamely suffer the Application of this most excellent allegorical Speech of a bold and brave *English Freeholder*, to the lazy and wretchedly weak Methods of carrying on this necessary, this long desired and most just War, particularly in the present Situation of our Affairs at home and abroad, under the Adm——n of some Persons who are daily accused of suspicious Inactivity: But that we may be cool in declaiming against the present Measures of our M——rs, and cautious in deciding this grand Point, if or not our Conductors are to blame, and there-

thereby deserve the Reproach some M—rs have suffered; we must have noour Facts to convince us of their Innocence, and clear Demonstration to ascertain their Guilt. If they are innocent they need not be apprehensive of the unjust Fate of the Earl of Clarendon, or be suspicious of the Accusations laid to the Charge of the Earl of Danby, afterwards Duke of Leeds, I mean that of shamefully betraying the Interests of *Britain*, by truckling to *French* Councils; and if we made a bad Treaty at *Utrecht*, or perhaps, to please *France*, have blundered into any worse since, let us mend all our former Foibles, and wisely prosecute this War, into which it would appear that we have been lugged by the Ears, much against our present tranquil Temper, by *Spain's* Non-performance of the notable Convention, which, as it has fallen in my Way, I cannot help taking particular Notice of some excellent Remarks of our Author's upon the Advantages the Nation reaped from that Treaty. What was the Necessity of convincing all *Europe* whether the War was just or not? The *French* and *Dutch* long previous to the Convention sneered at our Inactivity, and thereby improved their Sugar and Tobacco Trades, and were convinced we ought to give the Blow. *Spain* for twelve Years had plundered our Ships in *America*, and for twelve Years previous to the Convention dreaded our just Resentment: To maintain the Peace of *Europe*, two Years previous to this Convention, our M—rs were even willing, with scarce any Reparation at all, to make up all Differences with *Spain*. The affecting Petitions of our Merchants to the Parliament, together with the notable Case of Captain *Jenkins*, shewed all the World the War with *Spain* was unavoidable. Then what the wiser have we been for this omniscient Convention? Or what important Discoveries have we made since, which we did not know long before ever it existed? Or what had we to fear from the Jealousies our Neighbours entertained of the Success of our Arms, when as yet we had not unsheathed our Swords?

I can never be of Opinion Mr. *Vernon's* Orders for attacking *Porte-bello* were particular, but as they were successful,

cessful, why, when so often demanded, have they been as often denied to be produced in Parliament? I am certain that this Attack was an Impulse of that noble Admiral's honest Breast, resenting his Country's Wrongs in those Parts, since they were so much neglected at home. But how can our M—r claim any Share of Praise for these Orders? Is it not known over all *England*, that when the War was proclaimed, and our Hero sailed with his brave but too small Squadron, his Hon—r had retired to the Country, to recover from the Fatigues of the State by the noble Diver-sion of F—x H—ing? Another brave Fleet was sent into the *Mediterranean*, but oh Shame! let it scarce be heard again in *Britain*, for no less important Reason than chasing all the Jack-daws from *Mabon*. And have not our Hands been so shamefully tied up, that St. *Sebastians*, Port St. *Andero*, and most of the *Spanish* Ports upon the *Western Ocean*, are become Docks for our captive Ships, and their Jails are full of our brave Sailors, barbarously famished to Death by their Cruelty?

It is no less amazing to consider the wonderful Care with which our *West Indian* Expedition was conducted, which before the Fleet sailed was most industriously defeated. The *Marines*, hundreds of whom had never seen Powder burnt, were sent for Land-Forces, and most of the Generals who commanded this formidable veteran Corps of six Months old, had never served in any Expedition as such. When all was ready to sail, and every Thing necessary was on board, the M—r bid drop Anchor; where still we might have continued, had not his Majesty commanded the Fleet to sail. However we lost the Season of fighting in those Climates, and many brave Fellows were made the unworthy Victims of this proper Care. Now let us see, if, as our Author says, *the Designs of our concealed Enemies were prevented by these wise Measures*. France at *Toulon* and *Brest* equipt 40 Ships of the Line, on board of which some of their oldest Regiments were embarked. Eye-witnesses of this told our Ambassador at *Paris*, whose Mind being otherwise directed, as his Constitution was weak, wisely neglected this Truth. The *Cadiz* Squadron, that had been blocked up by our formidable Sea-Lions, escaped to *Ferrol*, where our Fleet followed them

them, no Doubt for the same excellent Purpose ; but a *Caval-
nal* Rumour surprised our State-Conjurors that *Mahon* was in
Danger, away sailed our Fleet to the speedy Relief of the al-
most ruined *Mahon*, which the *Spaniards* neither could nor
were ever in a Condition to attack, and out came the *Ferrol*
Squadron and joined the *French* in the Latitude appointed for
their Rendezvous, thence they sailed to *America*, reinforced
Carthagena, and afterwards repulsed us at Fort *St. Lazare*.
Such were the Results of these *wise Measures*, but alas ! as we
are now deprived of all suitable Revenge, our unhappy and
unavailing Tears must give the suitable but melancholy Re-
turn to this *wise Falshood* ; wherefore let our cool Adm---
st——n, by their wise Abilities, carry into all Execution
their more cool Resentment. But thus has the Nation been
bubbled by these very *wise Measures*.

War is certainly the Resentment of the People, not the
Prejudices of a Min——r, the proper Management of
which must depend upon the Accidents that befall the Peo-
ple ; but as the Aims of War cannot be so intended as to
satisfy the Losses of every particular Merchant, yet the ge-
neral Voice of those Losses must incline the Conduct of
our Attempts contrary to the particular Will of the M——r,
and some general Rules must be followed to establish Success
in Particulars. If proper Convoys are given to secure the
Trade of the Nation, one particular Merchant who loses
a straggling Ship has no good Claim to accuse the M——
st——ry ; but if Trade is not protected, and the Loss be-
comes general, a more than ordinary *Redress* is legal. A
Min——r who alone conducts the War, that is, who di-
rects our Generals, gives Orders to our Admirals, who
pays them, advances his Favourites, and discharges those
who are not entirely obsequious, has certainly engrossed
the sole Management of this War ; can any Person doubt
but as he is accountable for its Success, he must also be
liable for whatever Loss the Nation sustains in her Honour,
her Glory, her Trade ? And are not all Complaints anent
the Coldness in the Prosecution of this War therefore just ?
Or what Redress is there we are not entitled to demand
when these Facts are so clear, that all Proof cannot
better demonstrate them ? The faulty Prosecution of
this War must then resolve in Truths of Mismanage-
ment,

ment, which the Nation, which every suffering Individual, has an undoubted Right to enquire into, and to claim Immediate Redress of, that so the Safety, the Honour of the Nation, and the Success of this War, may not depend on the Self-views or private Designs of this powerful One. If every Individual suffers by a particular Embargo, the Result is general Clamour. If our Merchant-Ships have been made Prizes of in Sight of our Fleets, may we not complain our Trade is not duly protected? Where is the Malice, the invidious Stories so much complained of, when the Subjects suffer, and the Nation to the Conviction of all the World is egregiously abused?

How is it possible we can become the Terror of foreign Princes, when our Practice must convince them we ourselves defeat our mighty Projects? Who can with Reason think we design to engross the whole *West-Indian* Trade, when for the Sake of a shameful Peace, at the best, we were willing to submit to *Spain*? Did the Delays of our Expedition, falsely attributed to contrary Winds, whereby we lost *Carthagena*, make any Power behold us with Terror and Amazement? Who have by this lazy Disposition forfeited what must have produced us an honourable and lasting Peace upon our own Terms. Alas! this indeed is little Substance, and even shamefully less than the Pageantry of empty Show. When, as our Author says, our *M——ry* ordered Admiral *Vernon* at first to reduce *Carthagena*, they either meant one Thing when they intended another, or they exposed this brave Hero to certain Miscarriage, by sending him a Fool's Errand; for, who could suppose them in Earnest to give him Orders to demolish with Ten Ships, what bravely withheld the united Force of Forty Men of War and 10,000 Land-Forces? Is not all this Demonstration our *M——ry* are not in Earnest? If they are, their Councils are the certain Result of Ignorance.

Why then is it said the *Opposition* was mistaken? They loudly exclaimed against this Conduct, because they wisely foresaw the Event; and as the Voice of the Majority run down their Remonstrances, the Prediction of our shameful Defeat ascertained their prophetick Skill; for it is worse

than Enthusiasm, right or wrong to maintain a bad Cause, and Power ought not to be continued with those who visibly ruin the State. If the War is openly successful, all Mankind will be convinced ; if it is but speculatively apprehended so by a few, the World will blame its Conductors ; there is no Medium ; nor our Facts are nor our Demonstration, and who denies such Proofs must be immoderately blind : Faction can make no bad Use of good Administration, but wretched Conduct was always the honest Handle of Party : Design cannot prosper where Caution wants Root, but an unsuccessful Administration feeds the Flame of Discord, to extinguish which, the Advice and Helps of Experience are the properst Engines.

It was this Experience that dictated in Parliament the wise Motion concerning the Attack of *Porto-bello*, and it is well known the keen Sword of him who made it has contributed more to the Glory and Good of his Country in a few Days, than our modern *Grammarians* with all their Flow of Rhetorick have procured to the Nation in a Course of more than twenty Years. Is it not allowable to except to the great Expence of this War, which has already, and with no Success, cost the Nation vast Sums ? Whilst by the Delay of sailing from *Britain* in due Time, we lost at *Cartagena*, by the rainy Season, what *Spain* would have redeemed at the Expence of many Millions.

I can assure you, Sir, no Man blames this Adm——n for a too forward Disposition to War, their Fault is, the neglecting to prosecute it with Vigour, in order to procure us an honourable Peace : And if this was the sole View of our Min——ry, they could suffer nothing from Calumny, even of the ablest Generals at the Head of the best conducted Opposition ?

It has hitherto been the Honour of *British* Parliaments, sagely to debate the Expediency of all Motions that came before them, from any of their Members ; or otherways how can it possibly be known, what is for the Good of the Nation, or what is destructive, what is for our Glory, or what is dishonourable, what promotes Trade, or what destroys Commerce, what is the bought Vote, or what is the free independent Voice of this august Assembly ? But so soon as we begin

gin to consult, we are generally agreed about the Proposition, tho' the Method of making it effectual may be condemned by those who are concerned to make it better.

What in our Parliaments is so dignified as Eloquence in the Mouth of the virtuous Member, whereby he throws Truth into open Day, he warms and instructs those who are charmed with his grateful Accent to walk up to the honest Principles he inculcates, and nobly informs us no Nation can have real Happiness, but what is founded on the moral Virtues: Transport and Surprise apprehend our Resolutions, and soften our Understanding to receive the virtuous Impressions from his Country's Friend; but such an Art in the Mouth of a vicious Man has often proved fatal to the Publick. It serves as a bad Instrument to corrupt the Heart and weaken the Spirits, and when he declaims in Praise of Morality, he is seldom believed in what his Practice gives the Lye to his Tongue. History informs us, that the great Requisite to compleat this spurious Orator, is what we modestly call Assurance. *When I have fairly thrown him in the Wrestle, says Thucidydes to Pericles, he will not own he has received a Fall, and with shameless Impudence asserts those Principles to be true which most People know to be false.* Such is our Author's false Quotation, when he says the Age of Orators in *Greece, Carthage and Italy*, was an Age of Confusion; but had it been true, very probably our modern Luxury would have damned their ancient Eloquence.

Orators, generally speaking, were the Protectors of Liberty against the Confusion of Tyranny. Cicero declaimed against the Power of the ambitious *Mark Antony*. Demosthenes declaimed against *Philip of Macedon*, to save the Liberties of *Greece* from the Confusion of his tyrannical Aim at the sole Empire of these free States. Cato declaimed against *Cesar*, and fell the miserable Victim to his tyrannical Power.

Indeed Hanno the *Carthaginian* declaim'd against the victorious *Hannibal*, and disappointed him of receiving suitable Succours, and when they came, it was out of Season, and they in such a sickly Condition as to be quite unable to complete the Conquest of *Italy*, when this noble General had

had shewn the World, that not a *Roman* could stem the Torrent of his mighty Success. I hope we have no modern *Hanno's* in our Councils. Thus fared Liberty with three of the greatest Orators, whose notable Eloquence made them the perpetual Terror of the Tyrants in their Days.

What can reasonably affect the Conduct of this War, so as it cannot be soon brought to an honourable Issue? Disputes may have some Influence in the Parliament, in the Cabinet, or in the Council, but they can never distress in the Field. — Every Person allows the War to be just, and yet the Methods of carrying it on may suffer considerable Amendments; but even a Difference in this Point, especially in the Mouths of the Minority, can do little. The Essence of War is the Means to prosecute it, Money does the Business; wherefore, if we have a full Treasury and liberal Parliaments, we must have wretched Adm—strators if they starve the best Means to procure an honourable and lasting Peace. When our Armies and Fleets were well paid, *British* Courage always exerted it self, and as often as our Troops were commanded by wise and experienced Generals, whose Hands were not shamefully tyed up, we have as often been victorious. But, if ever it happens, (as we pray G O D forbid) that the Members of *British* Senates shall be the secret Enemies of *Britain*, then it is, that *British* Courage must be undone by what only can destroy it, *British* Treach—ry!

I am certain, if our Adm—n acted with Candor and Honour in their Country's Cause, it were impossible for any Opposition to hit their Blots, and if our M—ry had been successful by a vigorous Train of Measures, a Change merely for the Whim of governing by Turns must have been ridiculous: For were even this our present Desire, and also allowed us, it would not mend Matters, for a Change of Persons without a Change of Measures makes Things always worse.

If we prosecute the War with Vigour becoming *British* Resentment, our injured Country will be satisfied, and if we intercept Spain's West Indian Treasure by a sharp Look-out after their homeward-bound Fleets, we need not be

anxious to crush Spain altogether, we cannot ruin her more effectually. But oh ye Powers ! avert from the Head, the Heart of our present M——r, such a stedfast, such a cruel bloody ill-minded Purpose, or yet in loftier Strain, with the *Roman Poet*, let me plead with your H——r the piteous Cause of injured innocent Spain,

— *Tantæ animis cœlestibus ira.* —

However, what I have said of the Management of this War puts such Truths beyond the Power of any Set of State quibbles to contradict ; nor can the finest spun Distinctions in the Mouths of the finest Speaker invalidate their Force.

Thus, Sir, I have laboured to demonstrate, that the Privilege of instructing our Representatives is a constitutional and a rational Practice ; that this Place-bill's passing into a Law is the best Hinge upon which the Liberties and Properties of the Subject can turn, and is the best Mean for preventing a M——r from corrupting future Parliaments : And I apprehend I have sufficiently proven, that the present Conduct of the War with Spain is so scandalously, so coolly managed, that all we can at best expect from it must be some strange Blind of a ridiculous Peace.

But now our ingenious Author attempts to entertain us with what he says is an impartial and candid History of the present State of Europe, together with a pathetick Appeal to his Readers in Vindication of the Hero of his Letter. Now if this candid History should become one of our excellent modern Mistakes, and this mighty Hero should suffer from indisputable Conviction, then what for an Author have we ? He says, *The late Peace between the Emperor and Spain was projected at Rome, and was intended as the Basis of a Catholick Alliance, and, from a full Perswasion of this, Spain has acted as she has done.*

Sir, I dare now pawn my Life on it, that this comes quite hot from the deep Brain of some M——ial Prelate, and Ten to One but we shall presently find the Church to be in the utmost Danger ; but a wicked cross Accident has happened to

to hinder this wise Story to run tightly upon All-fours; for well informed as he is, he cannot now find such a Man as the late excellent Earl of Godolphin, to fall a Sacrifice to his false enthusiastick Dream.

But the true Matter of Fact, Sir, was this. When the King of Sardinia left the Confederates in Italy, from a Disgust he had taken about the Division of the Milanese, France became jealous of some secret Proposals the Queen of Spain had made to the Emperor; wherefore, to be before-hand with the Spaniard, and to get Possession of Lorrain, the only Pointe de veue for which France entred into the War, she suddenly clapt up a Peace with the Emperor, who put her in Possession of Lorrain in lieu of Tuscany, which he got for his Son in Law. Thus you see it was impossible the Pope could have any Voice in making up Matters betwixt those contending Powers, for the Bone to pick was it seems thrown in from another Quarter; and if it were possible I could be misled in those Facts, the most intelligent and candid Daily-Gazetteers, of Date the 6th, 7th, 13th, and 21st February 1736, are the impudent false Flatterers of some Persons I could name; for they attributed all the Merit of this Peace, in their usual Cant of gross Adulation, to the great Weight, the mighty Address, Dexterity, Influence and Credit of our most wise, and most penetrating present M——r, whose earnest Desire of continually blundering into Business with which he had never any Thing to do, and whose judicious Views of this Peace, at the Conclusion of the Treaty, might to him and his Scribblers have appeared glorious; but as its most certain Consequences have since proved so fatal to all Europe, to shake the Burden off himself, he has pertly presumed to saddle his Holiness with it.

Now, Sir, I hope you are convinced the Basis of this astonishing Piece of History is false. Our Author proceeds next to inform us, *That as the French and Dutch are deeply interested in the West India Trade, therefore they would not sacrifice their own Interest to promote ours.* I am certain there is no Nation that would promote our Trade at the Expence of ruining their own; but if those Powers are now equally our Rivals in that Trade, who were never so before, must not that be ascribed to our Adm——n, who, by neglecting

neglecting the Commerce of the Nation, have suffered the French and Dutch to enhance that Branch of our Trade, secured by Conquest and many Articles of every Treaty they have negotiated.

The third Article of this candid History, concerning our Northern Allies, is as extraordinary as the others; for one of those adheres to us for some weighty Reasons we all know, and the providential Measures of France secured another of our *quondam* Friends in that Country, for another Reason which we also all know. Now good Brother Author, take this serious good Advice from me, That before you shew any more of your candid impartial Histories to the Publick, you will be graciously pleased to accomplish yourself at least with an honest and more impartial Information.

Our Author proceeds to insinuate, That to lay all the Blunders of our Adm——n to the Charge of *One* is exaggerating Matters to a strange Pitch, and puts several Questions as to what this *One* is chargeable with. *Is He* chargeable (says our Author) with that warm Spirit of catholic Piety that reigns in three great Courts of Europe? I think he is not, because I am of Opinion a warm pious Care of religious Matters is the least Ingredient of his Concern and his Composition; witness his great Anxiety for the Protestants of Thorn at the Treaty of *Sossons*, where, notwithstanding of our petitioning the Parliament in their Favours, their claimant *Cafe* was never once mentioned; besides, we have now no religious War; so this wise Question seems not much to the present Purpose. I have already shewn he is chargeable with our clashing in a trading Interest in the *West Indies* with the Dutch and our firm Allies of France; but now our Author enquires if he is chargeable with the Continuance of cross Winds, and cross Accidents. As for cross Accidents, the World agree, that when a P——e M——r is firmly resolved to execute any Project, he can do every Thing but change the Weather; so, if we can depend upon his good Inclinations to execute, there can be no Disputes concerning his Powers: But I am also afraid the cross Winds will not altogether clear him from this Charge; for it is certain many Ships, at that cross-winded Period, proceeded from the Ports where

our

our Expedition was Wind-bound on Southern Voyages, and the Spanish and French Squadrons sailed also to America at that Time, and what was a fair Wind for them must also have been a fair Wind for Admiral Og——e, and this great One, in good Policy, ought to have taken the Weather-gage of all the Enemies of Great Britain.

But, says our Author, is he chargeable with the strange Notions Geraldino entertained of our Conduct? I answer, The Nation thinks he was so far chargeable with what he says was the Source of all our Misfortunes, that if he shall deny it they will bring undoubted Evidence of the Truth of this Charge. Geraldino observed, that rather as come to Biows, this One would have been satisfied with very little Reparation, and some People with good Reason assure us with no Reparation at all.

The tame Conduct of the South-Sea Company, in which this One has also a good many Friends, when Geraldino insolently demanded the immediate Payment of an alledged Debt of 68,000 £. due by the Company to the King of Spain, together with their mutual Conferences in their M——rial Departments, convinced this Don, that Britain would never enter into a serious War with Spain, while this One presided in her Councils: He also observed the Promoters of the War were the Minority despised by this One, tho' the Favourites of an injured Nation: He also knew how little Regard was paid to the just Complaints and affecting Petitions of our Merchants, occasioned by the tame Conduct of this One. Then who can be blamed for Geraldino's Notions and Mistakes? Why really, without exaggerating Matters, I apprehend it to be this individual One, this grand Mistaker, who hath nothing but Mistakes to bestow upon his suffering Country. It is rumoured, That a Mistake in the Matter of Forrage blundered this One into the Tower; and another Mistake some Twenty Years ago would have blundered the Nation into a perpetual State of Misery, had the wise Scheme been either possible or practicable; and it is whispered now, that if another wise Project succeeds, I mean a Peace with Spain at the Expence of giving up Gibraltar and Minorca, some Persons may be blundered into such

a Noose, that from thence to disentangle themselves, *bis labor, hoc opus erit.*

One would have thought our modest Author should have treated his Hero with more good Manners and less Familiarity, than pointing him out to be the Weather-cock of the Nation, and appealing to the Publick, if this *HE* on high is chargeable with all the cross Winds and foul Weather that blows over *Britain*. For my Part I should have treated him I had such a Value for, as I would have done one in the highest Stations of Life, by appealing also to the Publick how far he was chargeable or not with Matters of the highest Importance, the certain Events of which must have been fatal to the Freedom of *Europe* in general, and to the Liberties of his native Country in particular: And as I have endeavoured to give some Answers to our Author's ingenious Questions, it is probable he may be out of Humour with me, because I have differed somewhat from his Opinion of Things and of Persons. However, I hope he will not refuse me the same Liberty of interrogating which he has assumed to himself, which makes me also own a great Curiosity, to be certainly informed from this Adept in all political Intelligence of some Things which concern our own, as well as the great Transactions and probable Events in most of the great Courts concerned in this present Brawl of *Europe*.

Who is chargeable with aggrandizing the House of *Bourbon*, at the Expence of having undone the House of *Austria*? And to bring about this mighty Event, who is chargeable with the eventual Provisions that were made in favours of *Don Carlos* by the quadruple Alliance? Who is chargeable with assisting and sending a Fleet to introduce Spanish Garrisons into *Parma* and *Tuscany* by the Treaty of *Seville*? And to make up the Blunder of this Treaty, who contrived the second Treaty of *Vienna*, whereby first the Emperor and then the King of *France* were alternately disengaged, without any visible or possible View of Advantage to *Britain*? Who is chargeable with such ridiculous contradictory Conduct, whereby as to Day we were led to be the Allies of *France*, and to Morrow we were gone with a Whistle to be the Friends of the Emperor, by engaging in the pragmati-

tick Sanction ? And if this last Treaty is not one of these artificial *Blinds* which our calumnious Author would throw upon the Patriots, why, so soon as the Emperor died, or at the Beginning of the last Session of the last Parliament, was no suitable Provision made to fulfil our Stipulations of that Treaty in favours of the now undone House of *Austria*? Why was not a Fleet sent to ride the Sovereign of the *Baltick*, to have kept *Sweden* within her own Limits, and thereby have enabled *Russia* to have given the promised, the proper Assistance to the distressed Queen of *Hungary*? Why was not trusty *H——ce* sent to engage the *Dutch* to join a considerable Body of the *English*, who ought also to have been sent to the *Netherlands*, to have kept *France* in Play on that Side, and thereby have stopt the Carrier of that King's Troops in *Germany* to influence the Election of a *Bavarian Prince*, the known Slave of *France*, to sit upon the Imperial Throne ? Who is chargeable with the gross Blind put upon the Nation and the Parliament, in granting a trifling Sum as a Subsidy to the Queen of *Hungary*, when at the same Time all the World knows but too well, that even of that Money not a Penny has been given, that not a Battalion, not a Squadron have yet marched to her Assistance ?

In fine, who is chargeable with this Series of unaccountable bad Policy, which, so soon as the Emperor died, was discovered to have been so many wicked and premeditated Designs, that in *France* should be established universal Monarchy, that the House of *Austria* should be no more, and that *Britain*, once the Balance-holder of the Power of *Europe*, should now become (oh direful Change !) the provincial, fawning Slave of *France* ? Then who has thus undone the Liberties of *Europe*, and has also most audaciously involved the Trade, the Glory, the constitutional Freedom, and possibly the established Religion of *Britain* in the same Whirlwind of Ruin ?

Wherefore, Sir, your Electors, your Friends, your Countrymen, *instruct* you to join in all parliamentary Enquiries, whereby the Authors of these wretched Measures may be brought to Light, by the enquiring Representatives of a grievously injured People.

But

But if such Enquiries are still to be neglected, and this should become as obsequious to corrupt — ve Po — er, as was the last Parliament, let us then, my Countrymen, *Patriots, Freemen*, if that Name is yet extant in *Britain*; I say, let us address our *I brone*, and lay before his Majesty the notable Examples of his Royal Predecessors; let us inform him, that to be great, to be the happy King of *Britain*, he must protect his Subjects, he must maintain their Constitution, their Liberties, their Laws, their Religion, and to become the greatest Prince in *Europe*, he ought to maintain the almost undone Balance of Power, equally, betwixt the distressed House of *Austria* and its now triumphing Rival the House of *Burbon*.

For this End, that excellent Princess Queen *E'lisabeth* encouraged the *Dutch* to throw off the Fetters of *Spanish* Administration; for this End King *William* brought about the Revolution in *England*, and, failing of the *British* Royal Line, settled that Succession in the illustrious House of *Hanover*; for this End the late glorious Queen *Anne* confirmed all King *William*'s Alliances, redeemed this House of *Austria* from impending and immediate Ruin, and made the Tyrant of *France* tremble at the Rapidity of her Conquests; for this great End, his present Majesty, at *Oudenarde*, shone the Impostant Hero of that dreadful Day, his noble Sword fought for the Cause of this same House of *Austria*, and as *Britain*'s and *Brunswick*'s apparent Heir, his glorious Conquest secured this Balance of Power to *Britain*.

But oh! my Friends, if it is possible, that this long complained of Influence shall still prevail, and *Britons* can obtain no kind Redress for *Britain*'s too just Complaints, then let us leave all our Injuries, all our Woes, to the Great Avenger of all Wrong, humbly deprecating his too just Wrath from this too guilty Land, and by our most sincere Prostrations and unsighed Fasting, fervently implore Heaven's Almighty Aid, to protect this injured People from the Attempts of all their Enemies.

I am,

S I R,

Your most bumble Servant,

